

**File #:**

62-HQ-116395

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**Serial Scope:**

1134-1139, 1143-1145

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UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : Mr. J. B. Adams

FROM : Legal Counsel

SUBJECT: SENSTUDY 75

*J. B. Adams*  
*JAM*  
*JS*

- 1 - Mr. Mintz
- 1 - Mr. Adams
- 1 - Mr. Wannall
- DATE: 12/3/75
- 1 - Mr. Cregar
- 1 - Mrs. Metcalf
- 1 - Mr. Hotis
- 1 - Mr. Daly

- Assoc. Dir. \_\_\_\_\_
- Dep. AD Adm. \_\_\_\_\_
- Dep. AD Inv. \_\_\_\_\_
- Asst. Dir.:
- Admin. \_\_\_\_\_
- Comp. Syst. \_\_\_\_\_
- Ext. Affairs \_\_\_\_\_
- Files & Com. \_\_\_\_\_
- Gen. Inv. \_\_\_\_\_
- Ident. \_\_\_\_\_
- Inspection \_\_\_\_\_
- Intell. \_\_\_\_\_
- Laboratory \_\_\_\_\_
- Legal Coun. \_\_\_\_\_
- Plan. & Eval. \_\_\_\_\_
- Spec. Inv. \_\_\_\_\_
- Training \_\_\_\_\_
- Telephone Rm. \_\_\_\_\_
- Director Sec'y \_\_\_\_\_

By memorandum of 11/26/75 you were advised that tentatively captioned Committee had scheduled a hearing for 12/3 or 12/4 concerning counterintelligence matters and, in particular, consideration as to the separation from the FBI of counterintelligence investigations.

John T. Elliff, Task Force Director for the Domestic Task Force of the Senate Select Committee, advised on 12/2/75 that the aforementioned hearing will not be held at this time and will probably be rescheduled for January, 1976. He further stated that there would be a likelihood that the Director might be asked questions in this area during his appearance on 12/9/75 before that Committee.

RECOMMENDATION:

For information.

*JAM*  
*JBA*  
*JBA*  
*JS*  
*11*

REC-41  
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DEC 9 1975

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ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 08/16/00 BY SPAN/mc  
MOR-16



PVD:lad

84 DEC 23 1975

- 1 - Mr. J. B. Adams
- 1 - Mr. J. A. Mintz

The Attorney General

November 17, 1975

Director, FBI

- 1 - Mr. E. W. Walsh
- 1 - Mr. H. N. Bassett
- 1 - Mr. W. R. Wannall
- 1 - Mr. W. O. Cregar
- 1 - Mr. S. F. Phillips

U. S. SENATE SELECT COMMITTEE  
ON INTELLIGENCE ACTIVITIES (SSC)

Enclosed is the original of a memorandum, with attachments, reporting the interviews by SSC Staff Members of eight FBI employees concerning the official and confidential files maintained in the office of the late J. Edgar Hoover. A copy of the memorandum, with attachments, is also enclosed for forwarding to Mr. James A. Wilderotter, Associate Counsel to the President.

Enclosures (18)

62-116395

1 - The Deputy Attorney General  
Attention: Michael E. Shaheen, Jr.  
Special Counsel for  
Intelligence Coordination

1 - Each personnel file of 8 employees mentioned in enclosed LHM

SFP:mjg  
(19)

ST-100

REC-41

62-116395-1144

- Assoc. Dir. \_\_\_\_\_
- Dep. AD Adm. \_\_\_\_\_
- Dep. AD Inv. \_\_\_\_\_
- Asst. Dir.:
- Admin. \_\_\_\_\_
- Comp. S. \_\_\_\_\_

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DATE 10/26/00 BY SP8 RUM/mf

MDR-16

DEC 9 1975

Handwritten initials and signatures, including "WRC" and "Jm".

MAIL ROOM

TELETYPE UNIT

4 DEC 15 1975

Handwritten notes and signatures, including "157" and "46: 988".

- 1 - Mr. J. B. Adams
- 1 - Mr. J. A. Mintz
- 1 - Mr. E. W. Walsh
- 1 - Mr. H. N. Bassett

62-116395

November 17, 1975

- 1 - Mr. W. R. Wannall
- 1 - Mr. W. O. Gregar

1 - Mr. S.F. Phillips

**U. S. SENATE SELECT COMMITTEE  
TO STUDY GOVERNMENTAL OPERATIONS  
WITH RESPECT TO INTELLIGENCE ACTIVITIES (SSC)**

**RE: SSC STAFF INTERVIEWS OF FBI  
PERSONNEL CONCERNING OFFICIAL AND  
CONFIDENTIAL FILES OF THE LATE  
J. EDGAR HOOVER**

On September 2, 1975, SSC Staff Member Mark Gitenstein requested of the FBI's Legal Counsel Division that the following FBI employees be made available for Staff interviews concerning their knowledge of the official and confidential files which were maintained in the office of the late J. Edgar Hoover when he was Director of the FBI.

- Special Agent Joseph E. Battle
- Special Agent Joseph E. Dowling
- Mr. Thomas B. Dudney
- Inspector John P. Dunphy
- Mr. Jesse Peterson, Jr.
- Mr. F. Thomas Peyton
- Mr. Kenneth Shaffer
- Mr. Raymond Smith
- Mrs. Erma D. Metcalf

All of the above employees were interviewed during an inspection inquiry by the FBI into a matter relating to the official and confidential files, which inquiry was conducted at the request of the Department of Justice. The SSC was previously furnished a summary of the results of that inspection inquiry and has reviewed FD-302s reporting the interviews of these employees.

- Assoc. Dir. \_\_\_\_\_
- Dep. AD Adm. \_\_\_\_\_
- Dep. AD Inv. \_\_\_\_\_
- Asst. Dir.:
- Admin. \_\_\_\_\_
- Comp. Syst. \_\_\_\_\_
- Ext. Affairs \_\_\_\_\_
- Files & Com. \_\_\_\_\_
- Gen. Inv. \_\_\_\_\_
- Ident. \_\_\_\_\_
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- Intell. \_\_\_\_\_
- Laboratory \_\_\_\_\_
- Plan. & Eval. \_\_\_\_\_
- Spec. Inv. \_\_\_\_\_
- Training \_\_\_\_\_
- Legal Coun. \_\_\_\_\_
- Telephone Rm. \_\_\_\_\_
- Director Sec'y \_\_\_\_\_

All of these employees were released from their confidentiality agreement with the FBI for purpose of being interviewed by the SSC Staff.

ORIGINAL AND ONE COPY TO AG

1 - Each personnel file of 8 employees mentioned herein

SFP:mjg  
(18)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 05/06/00 BY SP8 RMM/DMC

SEE NOTE PAGE TWO

MAIL ROOM  TELETYPE UNIT

116395 - 1144

U. S. Senate Select Committee  
to Study Governmental Operations  
With Respect to Intelligence Activities (SSC)

Re: SSC Staff Interviews of FBI Personnel  
Concerning Official and Confidential Files  
of the Late J. Edgar Hoover

The results of the interview of Mrs. Metcalf, who is Administrative Assistant to FBI Director Clarence M. Kelley, has been separately reported to you by letter and memorandum.

Attached are eight separate statements, each reporting the results of the interview of the respective author by the SSC representatives.

Enclosures (8)

NOTE:

Legal Counsel to Mr. J. B. Adams memorandum 9/2/75 "Senstudy 75" detailed the SSC request for interviews of these employees and contains the Director's approval of waiver of confidentiality agreement. Copies of the individual statements will be placed in the respective personnel files. All of the statements are the product of the respective employees except the statement of Peterson who was debriefed by Supervisor E.F. Phillips of the Senstudy 75 Project who then prepared the statement of the Peterson interview.

TO: Intelligence Community Staff  
 ATTN: Central Index

FROM:  
**FBI**

SUBJECT: Abstract of Information Provided to Select Committees

1. HOW PROVIDED (check appropriate term. If a document was made available for review but not transmitted, so note.)

DOCUMENT	BRIEFING	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	INTERVIEW	TESTIMONY	OTHER
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2. DATE PROVIDED  
**11/17/75**

3. TO WHOM PROVIDED (check appropriate term; add specific names if appropriate)

SSC	The Attorney General with a copy for forwarding to the White House
HSC	

4. IDENTIFICATION (provide descriptive data for documents; give name or identification number of briefer, interviewee, testifier and subject)

**Memorandum reporting results of interviews by SSC Staff Members of 8 FBI employees: SA Joseph E. Battle, SA Joseph E. Dowling, Thomas B. Dudley, Inspector John P. Dunphy, Jesse Peterson, Jr., F. Thomas Peyton, Kenneth Shaffer, Raymond Smith & Mrs. Erma Metcalf.**

5. IN RESPONSE TO (list date and item number if in response to formal request, otherwise state verbal request of (name), initiative, subpoena, etc.)

**NA**

6. CLASSIFICATION OF INFORMATION (enter U, C, S, TS or Codeword)

**U**

7. KEY WORDS (enter the appropriate key words from the list provided separately; if key words not listed are used underline for emphasis)

**Operating procedures**

8. SUMMARY (see reverse side before completing this item)

**Interviewed concerning their knowledge of the O & C files which were maintained in the office of the late J. Edgar Hoover when he was Director of the FBI.**

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
 DATE 10/25/2000 BY SP8 RUM/lmf  
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62-116395

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ORIGINAL VIA LIAISON TO CENTRAL COMMUNITY INDEX  
 IN CONNECTION WITH SENSTUDY 75.

**TREAT AS YELLOW**

*500*

## INSTRUCTIONS

- Type or print clearly in ink.
- Indicate classification of the abstract top and bottom.
- Date the abstract and put on any internal control numbers required.
- "FROM" entry should clearly identify the organization providing the information.
- If additions (as when a copy of document sent to SSC is later sent to HSC) or changes to a previously submitted form are necessary, submit a copy of the original abstract, with the change indicated.

SPECIFIC ITEM NO. 8. SUMMARY - enter brief narrative statement describing substance of information and showing relationship to Intelligence Community matters if appropriate. Any feedback or evidence of investigatory interests should be noted. Commitments made to supply additional information should be noted. Additionally, certain administrative information may be entered here, e.g., restrictions on review of a document, if document was paraphrased, whether interviewee is current or former employee, etc. If actual document or transcript is provided, that fact should be noted and no summary is required. Additional pages may be attached if necessary.

INTERVIEW OF RAYMOND SMITH

On 10/23/75, I was interviewed by two members of the Senate Select Committee, Mrs. Mary DeOreo and Mr. Mark Gitenstein, at the Dirksen Building in the office of the Senate Select Committee. The interview began at 10:30 a.m. and ended at Noon. I was not advised of anything pertaining to my rights.

The following are questions asked and the answers I gave, to the best of my recollection:

QUESTION: When you went to the platform that morning - was it the day after Mr. Hoover died, or two days later?

ANSWER: I can't remember.

QUESTION: On that particular morning in question, what did you do?

ANSWER: I went out to the platform and I found the truck sitting funny and I wasn't sure if I had a flat tire or what. I checked the rear tires, but found the tires were up so that I figured something was on the truck. I can't remember if the truck was locked or what, but when I opened the truck it was loaded with cabinets from front to back. I questioned my supervisor, Tony Codi, about the cabinets on the truck. To his knowledge he didn't know where they came from. He went around to the front office to check and was told that the cabinets were to go to Mr. Hoover's house.

QUESTION: Who gave Codi the message to take the cabinets out to Mr. Hoover's house?

ANSWER: It could have been Mr. Marsden or Mr. Gregory. I don't know which. Tony double checked to find out who was going out to Mr. Hoover's house after I questioned him if the moving crew was going. I was told there would be no one going, but there would be a car following the truck.

QUESTION: Did you recognize the car or did you see it?

ANSWER: I couldn't tell the car from any other car out there in the street.

QUESTION: Did the car beat you to the house?

ANSWER: I didn't know if the car beat me there or not because there were other cars parked there.

QUESTION: Where were the cabinets unloaded?

ANSWER: They were unloaded at the side gate.

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DATE 10/26/2000 BY SP0 AM/vmt  
MOR-16



QUESTION: Who helped you to unload?

ANSWER: I didn't know the people.

QUESTION: Was anyone there that you recognized?

ANSWER: Yes. Miss Gandy.

QUESTION: Did you know Mr. Mohr, the SAC from Washington Field Office or Mr. Dunphy - and were they there?

ANSWER: I wasn't sure of that day - I wasn't sure of Mohr or Dunphy. . I didn't know the SAC from Washington Field Office.

QUESTION: Did you know anyone in Washington Field Office.

ANSWER: No.

QUESTION: Did the people who helped you move the cabinets - did you recognize any of them - were they Agents or what?

ANSWER: I didn't know.

QUESTION: Were they dressed in suits?

ANSWER: No.

QUESTION: Were the file cabinets full or what did they contain?

ANSWER: I didn't know. All I knew was that they were heavy, that they contained some type of file because while I was unloading one of the cabinets a drawer fell open and I almost fell off the truck. They were manila type. light in color.

QUESTION: Were they regular movers or what that helped you move the cabinets?

ANSWER: No, because they were inexperienced in moving cabinets because I had to show them everything.

QUESTION: Was this an unusual procedure?

ANSWER: Yes, but I didn't ask any questions.

QUESTION: Did the Bureau have their own crew?

ANSWER: Yes, or they generally had GSA come in, according to how big a move they had.

QUESTION: Were they all white or what?

ANSWER: I didn't see any Blacks - everyone was white.

QUESTION: What was the number of cabinets?

ANSWER: There were 15 or more, I can't remember.

QUESTION: How could all of them fit into his basement?

ANSWER: I don't know - I just can remember how the cabinets were arranged in there (the basement).

QUESTION: Were there other boxes and things there?

ANSWER: Yes.

QUESTION: The second move - was it the day after the first move?

ANSWER: Yes, I think it was.

QUESTION: How many cabinets?

ANSWER: Not as many as the first.

QUESTION: Did you have help in moving the cabinets - were they the same people?

ANSWER: I did have help, but I couldn't say if they were the same people.

QUESTION: After unloading the cabinets, what did you do?

ANSWER: I reported back to the Justice Building.

QUESTION: How long did it take you to unload the cabinets?

ANSWER: Maybe an hour or two, I can't remember exactly.

QUESTION: Did you make any other previous trips out there?

ANSWER: Yes, Jesse Peterson and I took some cabinets or small safe files out.

QUESTION: At that time were any cabinets out there?

ANSWER: Yes.

QUESTION: How many?

ANSWER: I couldn't tell, but not as many as I took out there.

QUESTION: Do you know Annie Field, who was his maid?

ANSWER: Yes.

QUESTION: Do you know her well?

ANSWER: I know her well enough as a friend.

QUESTION: Was Annie's room in the basement?

ANSWER: Yes.

QUESTION: Would she have seen the cabinets?

ANSWER: I would think so.

QUESTION: (This would go back to the series of questions on the movers.)  
Could anyone else drive the truck?

ANSWER: Yes.

QUESTION: Who could drive it?

ANSWER: Agents or anyone because the truck had been used for special assignments and it was no big thing for someone else to drive it.

QUESTION: Did you keep official records on the trips that you made with the truck?

ANSWER: Mileage was kept; the truck was signed out every morning and in at night, but there were no other records kept.

QUESTION: The day after Mr. Hoover died, Exhibits went up to move things out of his office - if the cabinets were up there, wouldn't Mr. Dunphy have seen them?

ANSWER: I don't know if the cabinets were up there or not - I couldn't answer that question.

QUESTION: How did you get along with Mr. Hoover?

ANSWER: O.K. I had a job to do.

QUESTION: How did you get along with Mr. Tolson?

ANSWER: O.K.

QUESTION: On that morning of Mr. Hoover's death, where were you and what did you know?

ANSWER: On that morning I had to pick up Mr. Tolson and I was told to go to Mr. Hoover's house and to wait until further orders. I waited until Mr. Mouten (ph.), Mr. Hoover's chauffeur, came out and told me to report back to the building. I questioned him as to what was going on, but he didn't tell me, he just said to report back to the building.

QUESTION: Did you know if Mr. Tolson knew he was dead or what?

ANSWER: I didn't know myself because I didn't find out he was dead until I got to the building.

QUESTION: Had you made any previous trips out to Mr. Hoover's house after his death?

ANSWER: Yes. I took some plants from the Botanical Garden to his house.

QUESTION: After Mr. Tolson's death, did you go out to the house to move any cabinets or anything?

ANSWER: No.

QUESTION: Why were you sent to Quantico?

ANSWER: The mechanic job came open - it was something I had worked at part-time and when the job came open I applied for it and I was transferred down there.

QUESTION: Were you drilled on anything?

ANSWER: No.

QUESTION: Have you talked to anyone concerning the cabinets?

ANSWER: Yes. I talked to Jesse Peterson because I was trying to make him remember moving cabinets when we had to set the safe files on the platform.

QUESTION: Why did they use you to drive? Did they trust you?

ANSWER: I don't know. I was just told to take them out there.

QUESTION: Were the cabinets moved out of Mr. Hoover's house at night?

ANSWER: I don't know whether they moved them in the day or night or what.

QUESTION: Do you think GSA could have moved the cabinets from his house that night?

ANSWER: I don't think so.

QUESTION: How did you know something was on the truck?

ANSWER: Just like you would come out the next morning and see something was wrong - I drove the truck each and every day and that's why I knew something was wrong.

QUESTION: How did you get along with Miss Gandy?

ANSWER: O.K. The only trouble I had was one time when I was told to report to her office to make a run out to the house to pick up some mail and I was told I had to take some other things out there and as we were walking along she kept asking the same question over and over again - did I mind going out to the house, and I told her no. When we got to the outer office there were about 15 to 20 cases of soda. I was told to get a handcart to load the sodas and to get a car. I told her if I had known that I had to take the sodas out I would have brought a small truck around. She told me, "In other words, you don't want to go out to the house." I told her I did not say that. I was told "You can report back downstairs" and I told her that was perfectly all right with me. I reported the incident to my supervisor, Mr. Gregory.

QUESTION: Did you see Miss Gandy anymore after that?

ANSWER: Yes, I had to take her to the doctor and the next time was out at Mr. Hoover's house.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Washington, D.C. 20535

September 26, 1975

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

UNITED STATES SELECT COMMITTEE  
ON INTELLIGENCE ACTIVITIES: (SSC)

RE: INTERVIEW OF FBI  
SPECIAL AGENT JOSLPH E. BATTLE  
BY SSC STAFF MEMBERS  
MARK GITENSTEIN,  
MARY DEORLO,  
JOHN SMITH,

SA Joseph E. Battle was interviewed on September 19, 1975 by the above SSC Staff Members from approximately 10:15 until 11 a.m.

The interview was conducted in a ground floor assembly room located in the Russell Senate Building.

Prior to the commencement of the interview, it is to be noted none of the SSC Staff Members advised SA Battle of his constitutional rights nor did they indicate he could be represented by counsel in this matter.

To the best of SA Battle's knowledge and recollection, the following questions were presented by the Staff Members and the answers given by SA Battle are so denoted.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

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DATE 10/26/2000 BY SP8/AM/1AC  
MDR-16

Question (Q):

After the Director's death, did you remove files from his office?

Answer (A):

No.

Q:

Weren't you frequently in the Director's office?

A:

No.

Q:

Weren't you in the Director's office after his death?

A:

No.

Q:

Were you ever in the Director's office?

A:

Yes.

Q:

When?

A:

In 1951 while in training school in conjunction with the Director's program of meeting all new agents, and I saw him in 1955 while at In-Service.

Q:

Well then, were you ever in Miss Gandy's office?

A:

Yes.

Q:

At the time of the Director's death?

A:

No.

Q:

Well, when was it?

A:

Approximately a year or two before the Director's death.

Q:

For what reason?

A:

I was told to pick up a package at National Airport and deliver it to Miss Gandy's office, which I did.

Q: Do you know what was in the package?

A: Yes, Miss Gandy indicated it was a plaque honoring the Director and she didn't know what she was going to do with it inasmuch as there was no more available wall space to hang it.

Q: Do you know Miss Gandy well?

A: No, other than her official position.

Q: When did you first meet her?

A: At the aforementioned time.

Q: Any other time?

A: Yes.

Q: When was that?

A: In approximately April, 1972, I drove her from her residence to Bureau headquarters.

Q: Why was that?

A: It was a Saturday and the Cherry Blossom Parade was in progress, and she feared difficulty in getting through the Parade route to work.

Q: When did you see her next?

A: After the Director's death.

Q: Under what circumstances?

A: I drove her to the Director's house.

Q: Weren't you in her office then?

A: No, I met her in the courtyard.



Q: I thought you said you didn't know her well.

A: I wouldn't construe the above as knowing her well.

Q: What was the purpose of driving her to the Director's house?

A: She said she had to meet with some lawyers concerning the Director's estate.

Q: Do you know who was present at the meeting?

A: No.

Q: Were you?

A: No, I waited outside.

Q: Who ordered you to drive Miss Gandy?

A: Mr. Kunkel

Q: Weren't you on his squad?

A: No.

Q: Whose squad were you on?

A: The ASAC's.

Q: Who was that?

A: Ed Campbell

Q: Weren't you considered the #3 man in WFO?

A: No.

Q: Weren't you a supervisor?

A: No, a relief supervisor.

Q: To Campbell?

A: Yes.

Q: Then wouldn't that make you #3 man?

A: No.

Q: What are your duties?

A: Presently I'm assigned to Squad C-4, and I'm assigned a variety of criminal cases.

Q: Be more specific.

A: Well, I handle numerous extortion-type cases pertaining to the various Senators and Congressmen, I'm assigned the Washington, D.C. phase of the Hoffa case and I assist in bank robberies and other major crimes.

Q: What did you do on the ASAC Squad?

A: I handled major criminal matters and drove the ASAC to the crime scene and assisted him at the scene, and I also worked personnel matters.

Q: Do you know John Mohr?

A: No, other than his official position.

Q: You didn't know him personally?

A: No.

Q: You never met with him?

A: No.

Q: Did you ever remove anything from the Director's house after his death?

A: Yes.

Q: What was that?

A: Some cardboard boxes.

Q: Do you know what was in them?

A: No.

Q: Were they official FBI boxes?

A: I don't know what you mean by any official FBI boxes.

Q: Well, were they plain cardboard boxes?

A: Yes.

Q: Were they sealed?

A: Yes.

Q: How many times did you go on this assignment?

A: About 3 or 4.

Q: How many boxes did you take out?

A: About 6 to 8 each time.

Q: Was anybody present?

A: Yes.

Q: Who?

A: Miss Gandy and Mr. Kunkel

Q: Anybody else?

A: On one occasion, I saw the maid, Anna, and the chauffeur, Crawford, and a woman who Mr. Kunkel introduced as Mr. Tolson's secretary, but I didn't know her.

Q: What was she doing?

A: She was writing checks.

Q: Did Miss Gandy have a desk in the Director's house?

A: I don't know.

Q: Did you see any file cabinets?

A: No, to the best of my recollection.

Q: Do you know what was in any of the boxes?

A: Yes.

Q: = What was that?

A: White shirts.

Q: How do you know that?

A: Because Miss Gandy pointed them out.

Q: After you left the Director's house, where did you go?

A: I drove to the loading platform at WFO.

Q: Who met you there?

A: Either Dudney or Shaffer.

Q: And then what?

A: I helped unload the boxes and drove off.

Q: Do you know where the boxes were then taken?

A: No.

Q: Didn't you and Mr. Kunkel talk about what was in the boxes and the purpose of these trips?

A: No.

Q:

Why not?

A:

Because he never volunteered anything and I figured it was none of my business.

Q:

Don't you think this is kind of odd?

A:

No, I've helped other people move and clean out their cellars and I considered this about the same thing.

Q:

Didn't you become suspicious and scared when you read in the newspapers that allegedly secret files were taken out of the Director's office and destroyed?

A:

No, why should I, as I said before, I wasn't in the Director's office.

Q:

Mr. Battle, Mr. Shaffer states you and he removed boxes from the Director's office at the direction of Mr. Kunkel.

A:

Well, Mr. Shaffer is wrong. I never went to the Director's office with he or anyone else.

Q:

Have you discussed this matter with anyone else?

A:

Yes, with the FBI Inspectors who called me in.

Q:

That was when?

A:

In June, you can get the exact date from the 302.

Q:

Have you discussed this matter with anyone else?

A:

Well, you know Shaffer, Dudney and Dowling and I came up here this morning together and naturally the matter was discussed.

Q: Do you know or see a memorandum that was circulated by the Bureau concerning this inquiry?

A: No.

Q: When did you last see Kunkel?

A: About 6 months ago, I saw him at an elevator bank in the Bureau and we exchanged greetings.

Q: How about prior to that?

A: When he left for St. Louis

Q: You haven't discussed this matter with anyone?

A: No, other than the above.

Q: How come Kunkel was transferred to St. Louis, there was a lot of publicity about it?

A: I don't know anything more about it than as you say the national publicity.

Q: Wasn't there a personal feud between Gray and Kunkel?

A: If there was, I don't have any direct knowledge of it.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Washington, D.C. 20535

September 22, 1975

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

U.S. SENATE SELECT COMMITTEE ON  
INTELLIGENCE ACTIVITIES (SSC)

RE: INTERVIEW OF SPECIAL AGENT JOSEPH E. DOWLING  
BY SSC STAFF MEMBERS

Special Agent (SA) Joseph E. Dowling, Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) was interviewed on September 19, 1975, at approximately 1:30 p.m. at the SSC Offices by SSC Staff Members Mary DeOreo and Mark Gitenstein. No mention was made by Staff Members regarding Constitutional rights and no mention was made as to whether or not this interview was voluntary.

SA Dowling was asked if he had ever assisted in the removal of certain boxes from the residence of the late J. Edgar Hoover. He replied that within one or two weeks after Mr. Hoover's death, he accompanied Robert G. Kunkel, who at that time was Special Agent in Charge of the Washington Field Office of the FBI, to Mr. Hoover's residence and assisted in removing six to eight cardboard boxes. These boxes were taken from the basement of the residence and delivered to the Washington Field Office of the FBI loading dock in the rear of the Old Post Office Building, 12th and Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. The boxes were placed on the loading dock in the custody of either Kenneth Shaffer or Thomas Dudney, FBI employees.

Concerning the boxes transported from Mr. Hoover's residence to the Old Post Office Building, Special Agent Dowling advised the SSC Staff Members that these boxes were sealed with tape and that at no time did SA Dowling see what was in the boxes. In addition, SA Dowling did not discuss the

This document contains neither  
recommendations nor conclusions  
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U.S. SENATE SELECT COMMITTEE ON  
INTELLIGENCE ACTIVITIES (SSC)

RE: INTERVIEW OF SA JOSEPH E. DOWLING  
BY SSC STAFF MEMBERS

contents with Special Agent in Charge Kunkel. SA Dowling was asked who was present at the Hoover residence when he made this trip. He advised SSC that he observed no one but did hear the voice of a female and recognized this voice as that of Miss Helen Gandy, a former member of Mr. Hoover's Staff.

This interview lasted approximately fifteen minutes.



9/22/75

INTERVIEW OF THOMAS B. DUDNEY

On 9/19/75, at approximately 12:55 p.m., I, Thomas B. Dudney, was interviewed in the offices of the Senate Select Committee (SSC) by Mary DeOreo, Mark Henry Gitenstein, and John L. Smith, Staff representatives of aforementioned Committee for purpose of relating to these representatives my recollection of events concerning destruction of certain material(s) and/or records from the office and/or home of the now deceased and former Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, Mr. J. Edgar Hoover.

It is to be noted that at no time was any mention made of my rights or that any statement that I might make was voluntary.

Set forth below and as best I can recall is a series of questions asked by mentioned SSC Staff representatives and my answers thereto. These questions are not necessarily in the same chronological order as presented to me:

- STAFF REP. - You were Chief Clerk in the Washington Field Office in June, 1972?
- DUDNEY - Yes, that is right.
- STAFF REP. - How long were you Chief Clerk in the Washington Field Office?
- DUDNEY - I was officially appointed to the position of Chief Clerk approximately November 1, 1969, position I held until July 21, 1975.
- STAFF REP. - Mr. Dudney, ~~what~~ is your recollection of being contacted by Mr. Kunkel concerning the destruction of material and when did that occur?
- DUDNEY - Before we proceed, could I review my statement given in early or mid-June of this year?
- STAFF REP. - Yes - (statement reviewed)
- DUDNEY - Concerning time and contact with Mr. Kunkel. As best I can recall Mr. Kunkel appeared in my office, Room 538 of the Old Post Office Building, one morning about two weeks after the death of Mr. Hoover and commented that he was leaving the office and would contact me when he returned - that I should then meet him at the loading dock at the rear of the Old Post Office Bldg.

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MDR-16

STAFF REP. - Did you meet Mr. Kunkel at the loading dock?

DUDNEY - Yes.

STAFF REP. - What did you see and what were your instructions?

DUDNEY - I observed 4 or 5 maybe 6 boxes in a sealed condition and was told that either I or Mr. Shaffer (Asst. Chief Clerk) was to personally destroy the contents. I was not told what the boxes contained or where they came from.

STAFF REP. - Was anyone else with Mr. Kunkel?

DUDNEY - Yes, as I stated in my FD-302 I believe it was Mr. Battle; however, I wasn't that concerned with who was accompanying Mr. Kunkel. It could have been Mr. Dowling, I just don't recall for sure.

STAFF REP. - What did you do with these boxes?

DUDNEY - I loaded them on a dolly, took them to the 5th floor of the Old Post Office Bldg. and secured them in a vault until after working hours. We were not able to run the disintegrator until after working hours due to the noise factor.

STAFF REP. - Is there a disintegrator at FBI Headquarters?

DUDNEY - I believe there is.

STAFF REP. - Why do you think it was decided that the machine at the Washington Field Office should be used?

DUDNEY - I really don't know - I can only assume that it was for convenience purposes as I believe the Headquarters disintegrator was located in the FBI Identification Division then located on 2nd Street, S. W., WDC.

STAFF REP. - Did you destroy or participate in the destruction of the material contained in the boxes you refer to?

DUDNEY - Yes, Mr. Shaffer and I worked together on it.

STAFF REP. - When was this material destroyed?

DUDNEY - Mr. Shaffer and I destroyed the bulk of the material after regular working hours of the day it was delivered to me by Mr. Kunkel. We did not finish as I had to meet my carpool and Mr. Shaffer had other commitments. We returned the remainder of this material to the vault for purpose of securing it overnight and completed the destruction the following morning.

STAFF REP. - What did you see when you opened the boxes for destruction?

DUDNEY - Material which appeared to be personal papers of Mr. Hoover and what appeared to be nothing more than bank statements, records relating to stock holdings, etc. I do recall seeing one communication from someone, I don't recall who, expressing appreciation to Mr. Hoover for his appearance and comments before some group, the name of which I can't recall.

STAFF REP. - Did you see any documents or records with holes punched in them?

DUDNEY - No.

STAFF REP. - Did it appear that anyone had gone through these records?

DUDNEY - I saw no items that were torn or defaced. Everything appeared loosely placed and intermingled in the boxes.

STAFF REP. - Did you see any index cards?

DUDNEY - No.

STAFF REP. - Did you see any other records?

DUDNEY - No.

STAFF REP. - Were you ever contacted again by Mr. Kunkel and asked to meet him, or did he tell you he was leaving the office and that you should meet him upon return?

DUDNEY - No.

STAFF REP. - Did Mr. Kunkel ever tell you where he was going when he left the office or upon return where he had been?

DUDNEY - No.

STAFF REP. - Did you ever discuss this matter with anyone other than Shaffer?

DUDNEY - No.

STAFF REP. - Did Mr. Kunkel contact Mr. Shaffer subsequent to this one occasion for the purpose of picking up and destroying additional material?

DUDNEY - I don't know.

STAFF REP. - You stated earlier that on 4 or 5 subsequent occasions Mr. Shaffer was called upon to meet Mr. Kunkel for purpose of picking up and destroying additional material, is this right?

DUDNEY - No. I think there must be some misunderstanding. I stated that I received 4 or 5 maybe 6 boxes of material from Mr. Kunkel.

STAFF REP. - Did Mr. Kunkel, subsequent to this one occasion, contact Mr. Shaffer either personally or by telephone?

DUDNEY - Yes - Mr. Kunkel was in frequent contact with Mr. Shaffer both personally and telephonically. The mere nature of assignments and work required frequent contact.

STAFF REP. - Were any boxes ever stored in the attic of the Old Post Office Bldg.?

DUDNEY - Not to my knowledge - I think any reference to storage may relate to the one time I placed the 4 or 5 boxes in the vault until after working hours.

STAFF REP. - Who had the combination to the vault?

DUDNEY - Mr. Shaffer and I.

STAFF REP. - Did you ever take any boxes to Mr. Kunkel's office?

DUDNEY - I don't recall taking any boxes to Mr. Kunkel's office.

STAFF REP. - Have you ever been to Mr. Hoover's office?

DUDNEY - No.

STAFF REP. - Do you know Mr. Mohr?

DUDNEY - Yes, but not personally. I know who he is when I see him.

STAFF REP. - Do you know Mr. Felt?

DUDNEY - Yes, only in that I'm able to identify him when I see him.

STAFF REP. - Earlier this year when the news media reported this situation did you discuss it with anyone?

DUDNEY - No.

STAFF REP. - You indicated you and Shaffer worked on this together, you didn't discuss it with him or comment on it at all?

DUDNEY - As I recall the only comment I made to Shaffer was "Looks like the FBI made the headlines again." I have discussed this situation with no one.

STAFF REP. - Do you recall anything else or have any questions?

DUDNEY - I recall nothing more that in my estimation I consider germane. No, I have no questions.

STAFF REP. - Thank you Mr. Dudley.

Interview concluded

October 30, 1975

INTERVIEW OF JOHN P. DUNPHY

On 10/28/75, between 1:10 p.m. and 1:50 p.m., I was interviewed by Miss Mary DeOreo and Mr. Mark Gitenstein of the U. S. Senate Select Committee on Intelligence Activities. The interview took place in a room in the former Carroll Arms Hotel, Washington, D. C.

No preliminary explanation of rights was expressed by either of the interviewers who began by asking my position in the Bureau, length of service in present assignment as Section Chief of the Exhibits Section (nine years), period of time assigned to FBI Headquarters (since 1960), type of prior field work performed (criminal and security), and year of Bureau Enter on Duty (1948).

They asked the administrative structure of the Exhibits Section and were informed it consists of five units:

1. Visual Presentation Unit
2. Graphic Presentation Unit
3. Letterscreen Unit
4. Headquarters Building Unit
5. Headquarters Security Unit

Concerning units 1 and 2 above, they asked what basic duties they performed and were advised that they primarily prepare charts, trial models and other two-dimensional and three-dimensional items for investigative assistance and/or trial use.

Mr. Gitenstein indicated that they were aware that immediately after the death of Mr. Hoover in 1972, I was involved in making arrangements for the funeral service and the burial, and was thus away from the building most of the time. They asked if employees of the Section packed any items in the Director's Office after his death. They were informed that some employees did assist in packing and that to my knowledge, this consisted of items which were hung on the wall of the corridor leading into his office such as award certificates and plaques presented to Mr. Hoover over the years. We had an interest in these for historical purposes particularly with reference to possible use on the tour route for the new building.

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They asked if I had knowledge of any files being removed from the Director's Office to Mr. Hoover's residence or any other place. They were informed that I have no such knowledge. They asked if I recalled taking anybody to Mr. Hoover's residence in connection with the removal of items from his office to his home. They were informed I have no such recollection.

In answer to questions, they were advised that I was acquainted on an official basis with both Mrs. Dorothy Skillman, Mr. Tolson's secretary; and Miss Helen Gandy, Mr. Hoover's secretary. They asked if I was in Mr. Hoover's residence after his death. They were informed I have been there about five times in connection with the witnessing of Mr. Tolson's signature to codicils to his will. On one occasion, I recalled being in the basement recreation room. They asked who was in the recreation room and I replied possibly Mrs. Skillman. They asked if I saw any boxes, and I replied that I did along one wall, approximately 20 to 30 in number.

After establishing that I knew the identity of Bureau employee Raymond Smith, they asked if I was aware of any difficulty experienced by Mr. Smith in connection with his assignments prior to being assigned to Quantico. I informed them that I was not. They asked if I made arrangements for Mr. Hoover's driver to transport him each day and when I replied in the negative, they asked who did this and I stated I presumed it would have to be Mr. Hoover's secretary or somebody in his office. They asked what association I had with Mr. Hoover's drivers, and I told them that the Exhibits Section was responsible for the good operating condition of the Bureau's armored cars and that the drivers were acquainted with its safe operation.

I was asked if I had made any contact with the Washington Field Office in connection with the removal of any material from Mr. Hoover's residence after his death, and I informed them I had made no such contact.

They asked if I was a close personal and social friend of Mr. Tolson and were informed I was not. They wished to know if I have been to the Hoover residence since the death of Mr. Tolson. I told them I have not been.

J. P. Dunphy

INTERVIEW OF JESSE PETERSON, JR.

Jesse Peterson, Jr. furnished the following information concerning the interview of him on September 22, 1975.

He was interviewed from approximately 11:40 a.m. to approximately 12:10 p.m. in the Dirksen Senate Office Building by Senate Select Committee Staff Members Jack Smith and Mary DeOreo. At the outset of the interview, he was permitted to review an FD-302 recording an earlier interview of him by FBI personnel. Nothing was said to Peterson relative to his rights or that the interview was voluntary. He was not sure as to whether or not anything was said about returning for additional interview.

The following, not necessarily in chronological order, involves the questions asked of Peterson and responses made by him.

As a truck driver for the FBI, Peterson transported some boxes from FBI Headquarters to the home of the late J. Edgar Hoover shortly after Hoover's death. Peterson was asked what was in the boxes and he said he did not know as the boxes were sealed. Asked if he also transported cabinets, he responded that he had. Asked how the items were taken into the residence, he said they were transported through the basement to the recreation room. As to who assisted Peterson, he identified another FBI employee, Raymond Smith. Asked whether he had seen other cabinets in the residence, he said that he saw some legal-size cabinets in the recreation room.

Peterson was asked who supervised the move and he said that Jack Dunphy did at the Bureau and that Tom Peyton did at the residence.

He was asked if he helped move anything from Hoover's residence and he responded that he did not. He was asked who he got his orders from as a truck driver and he said he got his orders from either Bob Marsden or Tony Codr. He was asked if he had seen Miss Gandy at Hoover's residence and he said he had on one occasion. He indicated that he had made a total of 2 or 3 deliveries to the Hoover residence. He also advised that on one occasion, he took some boxes from Hoover's residence to the library at the FBI Academy, Quantico, Virginia. He did not know the contents of the boxes as they were sealed.

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INTERVIEW OF F. THOMAS PEYTON

On Monday, September 22, 1975 (10:00 a.m. to 11:00 a.m.), I met with John Dennis Miller and Paul V. Daly of the Bureau's Legal Counsel Division. They advised me of a meeting with Jack Smith and Mary DeOreo in the New Senate Office Building. I was advised of my rights relative to the upcoming meeting; that the statements were voluntary; that I did not have to answer any questions I did not choose to, etc.

During the meeting with Smith and DeOreo, they asked such questions as:

Q. The boxes you supervised in removing from the Director's Suite and taking the boxes to his home - where did you place them?

A. In the basement recreation room.

Q. How many boxes did you have moved there?

A. About 100

Q. What was in the boxes?

A. I do not know.

Q. Did you take out any file cases?

A. No I did not.

Q. Did you see any file cabinets?

A. Yes I did.

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Q. Where were they, and how many?

A. They were in the recreation room in the front part, there were four two-drawer type.

Q. Was there any other furniture in that room?

A. Yes

Q. What was it?

A. A desk, chair and lamp.

Q. Did you remove anything from Mr. Tolson's office?

A. Yes, some boxes.

Q. How many?

A. The best I can recall about 20 to 25.

Q. Do you know what was in them?

A. No I do not.

Q. Where did you place them?

A. In an alcove in the basement.

Q. Did you see more file cabinets in the recreation area, such as a group of 20 or 25?

A. No.

Q. Was Mr. Dunphy working for you at this time?

A. No. I work for him.

Q. Did you see other people at the house?

A. Yes.

Q. Who were they?

A. Miss Gandy, Mr. Crawford, Miss Field.

Q. You did not see Mrs. Metcalf there?

A. No.

Q. How much time did you spend at the house?

A. I do not remember.

Q. How many days?

A. I do not remember.

Q. Were you out to the house any time in June after Mr. Hoover's death?

A. I do not remember.

Q. Were there any boxes packed in the Director's suite for pick-up by WFO?

A. Not to my knowledge.

I answered all questions to the best of my ability and recollection.

Mr. Smith and Ms. DeOreo gave me no indication of future actions which they might take in this matter.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

Washington, D.C. 20535  
September 23, 1975

U.S. SENATE SELECT COMMITTEE ON  
INTELLIGENCE ACTIVITIES (SSC)

RE: INTERVIEW OF CHIEF CLERK KENNETH SHAFFER  
BY SSC STAFF MEMBERS

On September 19, 1975, at the request of the Legal Counsel Division, Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) - Headquarters (HQ), Kenneth Shaffer, Chief Clerk, Washington Field Office, appeared at the Senate Office Building for the purpose of being interviewed by the Staff Members of the United States Senate Select Committee on Intelligence Activities.

The interview was conducted by Senate Select Staff Members, Mary DeOreo and Mark Gitenstien. At the on-set of the interview, Mr. Shaffer was not advised of his Constitutional rights nor was he advised that he was being questioned on a voluntary basis.

During the month of June, 1975, Mr. Shaffer was interviewed at FBI-HQ, relative to his participation in the handling and destruction of material from the residence and Justice Building Office of the late J. Edgar Hoover. As a result of this interview an FD-302 (Report of Interview Form) was prepared. Prior to the time of the interview by the Staff Members, Mr. Shaffer had not had the opportunity to read this report. Mr. Shaffer requested that he be permitted to read the FD-302 report. After a short conference, between the Staff Members, they agreed that it would be permissible for him to read the report.

The interview by the Staff Members lasted approximately one hour and 15 minutes.

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U.S. SENATE SELECT COMMITTEE ON  
INTELLIGENCE ACTIVITIES (SSC)

RE: INTERVIEW OF CHIEF CLERK KENNETH SHAFFER  
BY SSC STAFF MEMBERS

The questions asked by the two Senate Select Committee Staff Members were relative to above mentioned matter.

The questions and replies set forth below are as best as Mr. Shaffer can recall.

Question: How long have you been the Assistant Chief Clerk at the Washington Field Office?

Answer: Five years. I am now Chief Clerk. I replaced Mr. Dudney who was transferred to Headquarters.

Question: How long have you worked for the Bureau?

Answer: Thirty-one years.

Question: Do you know Mr. John P. Mohr?

Answer: I have known Mr. Mohr personally for twenty-five years.

Question: Do you know Mr. Mark Felt?

Answer: Yes, I do.

Question: Do you know Miss Candy?

Answer: I met her on two or three occasions over the years.

Question: Have you ever discussed this matter with Mr. Mohr or Mr. Felt?

Answer: No, I have not.

Question: After the death of Mr. Hoover, how much time lapsed before you began picking up cartons from his office for disposal?

U.S. SENATE SELECT COMMITTEE ON  
INTELLIGENCE ACTIVITIES (SSC)

RE: INTERVIEW OF CHIEF CLERK KENNETH SHAFFER  
BY SSC STAFF MEMBERS

Answer: A week or two.

Question: What was going on in the Director's office when  
you picked up the cartons?

Answer: Personal effects were being packed and the rooms  
were being prepared for painting and redecorating.

Question: Do you think Mr. L. Patrick Gray knew what was taking  
place?

Answer: I really do not know.

Question: Did you see Mr. Mohr, Mr. Felt or Miss Gandy?

Answer: No, I did not.

Question: Who did you see in the Director's office?

Answer: I believe I did speak to Mr. Moten.

Question: Who is Mr. Moten?

Answer: He was Mr. Hoover's chauffeur.

Question: How many times have you been in the Director's office?

Answer: Several times.

(During the course of this questioning, I remarked  
that to the best of my recollection, I was not in  
the Director's inner office during this pertinent  
time.)

Question: How many times did you go to the Director's office  
to pick up cartons of material for destruction?

U.S. SENATE SELECT COMMITTEE ON  
INTELLIGENCE ACTIVITIES (SSC)

RE: INTERVIEW OF CHIEF CLERK KENNETH SHAFTER  
BY SSC STAFF MEMBERS

Answer: Possibly two or three times.

Question: How many boxes were there?

Answer: As far as I can recall, there were six to nine  
boxes.

Question: Were the cartons marked in any way?

Answer: As I recall, they were not marked, but were sealed  
when received and remained sealed until time of  
destruction.

Question: Did Mr. Battle at any time go over to the Justice  
Building with you to pick up cartons?

Answer: Yes, I believe he did.

(The interviewer stated that my reply was contrary  
to that of Mr. Battle. Mr. Battle indicated that  
he was not at the Justice Building with you).

Question: Did you ever go to the Justice Building alone to  
pick up cartons of material for destruction?

Answer: No, I did not.

Question: If you had gone alone would you have had to account  
for your time to Mr. Dudney?

Answer: No.

Question: Were you ever at Mr. Hoover's residence?

Answer: No.

U.S. SENATE SELECT COMMITTEE ON  
INTELLIGENCE ACTIVITIES (SSC)

RE: INTERVIEW OF CHIEF CLERK KENNETH SHAFFER  
BY SSC STAFF MEMBERS

Question: Did you see Mr. Kunkel in an automobile with Mr. Battle on occasions when cartons were delivered from Mr. Hoover's residence to the loading platform?

Answer: I do not recall seeing him.

Question: Tell us how you were advised that material was ready to be picked up?

Answer: Mr. Kunkel would receive a telephone call and in turn would contact Mr. Battle and advise him. Enroute from Mr. Hoover's residence, Mr. Battle would contact the Radio Room and request that I meet him at the platform.

Question: Were these cartons ever placed in the office of Mr. Kunkel?

Answer: No.

(For the record, I did retract this answer and stated "that the beginning of the project, they were placed in a room within his office and kept there until it was time for destruction. After a time, they were taken directly to the disintegrator room. Mr. Dudney and I had the key to this room.")

Question: Is there another storage room in the Washington Field Office where the cartons might have been stored until time for destruction?

Answer: No.

(Following the interview, in talking to Mr. Dudney, I then realized that the interviewers were referring to a walk-in vault where Mr. Dudney had placed material on one or two occasions.)



U.S. SENATE SELECT COMMITTEE ON  
INTELLIGENCE ACTIVITIES (SSC)

RE: INTERVIEW OF CHIEF CLERK KENNETH SHAFFER  
BY SSC STAFF MEMBERS

Question: What sort of material was in the cartons?

Answer: Photography, old personal letters, post cards,  
Christmas cards, etc., and other personal records.

Question: Do you recall seeing letters which had holes  
punched in them indicating that they may have been  
part of a file?

Answer: Yes, there were some letters, but they were torn  
up and mixed in with other material.

Question: Do you recall seeing at least 150 to 200 3x5 index  
cards?

Answer: No, but it is possible that they could have been  
mixed in with other material.

Question: If they were in a box, would the disintegrating  
machine be able to handle them?

Answer: No, it would not.

(The capabilities and operations of the machine  
were fully explained to the Staff interviewers  
at this time.)

Question: How long did it take for you to destroy the material?

Answer: Between six to nine hours over a two week period  
of time.

Question: Is there any record which would reflect the time  
spent in the destruction of the material or the  
amount of material destroyed?

U.S. SENATE SELECT COMMITTEE ON  
INTELLIGENCE ACTIVITIES (SSC)

RE: INTERVIEW OF CHIEF CLERK KENNETH SHAFFER  
BY SSC STAFF MEMBERS

Answer: No

Question: Was there any destruction of material after the first week of July?

Answer: No.

Question: Knowing that the Bureau had its own disintegrating facilities, why do you think Mr. Kunkel was requested to handle the destruction of the material?

Answer: Prior to Mr. Kunkel's becoming a Special Agent, he was a Clerical Employee assigned to the Director's office. Miss Gandy may have requested his assistance in the destruction of Mr. Hoover's personal papers.

Question: Why do you think that such precautions were taken in the handling and destruction of this material?

Answer: The material was that of a prominent deceased individual and the contents need not be publicized.

Question: Are you assigned to operate the disintegrator machine?

Answer: No, we have employees assigned this duty.

Question: Why did Mr. Kunkel ask you and Mr. Dudney to personally handle the destruction of the late Director's material?

Answer: As Special Agent in Charge, Mr. Kunkel requested Mr. Dudney and I to handle and destroy all material. We did so without question.

Question: Early this year an article appeared in a local newspaper relative to the destruction of material from the office of Mr. Hoover. Did you read this article?

U.S. SENATE SELECT COMMITTEE ON  
INTELLIGENCE ACTIVITIES (SSC)

RE: INTERVIEW OF CHIEF CLERK KENNETH SHAFFER  
BY SSC STAFF MEMBERS

Answer: Yes, I did.

Question: How did this affect you?

Answer: It really did not affect me. It became a private joke between Mr. Dudney and myself in that we may have made the newspapers, but did not realize we were or would ever be involved.

Question: Did you read an article in "Time" or "Newsweek" relative to the destruction of material from the office of Mr. Hoover?

Answer: No sir, I did not.

Question: Did you discuss this matter with anyone?

Answer: No, I did not.

The interviewer emphatically stated that I did discuss the matter at the time I was interviewed as reflected by the copy of FD-302 in his possession.

(I stated that I thought he was referring to a possible discussion with personnel assigned to the Washington Field Office.)

There may have been other questions asked of me; however, as stated above these are the questions I can recall.

- 1 - Mr. J. L. Mintz
- 1 - Mr. W. R. Wannall
- 1 - Mr. W. O. Cregar
- 1 - Mr. R. L. Shackelford

The Attorney General

November 26, 1975

Director, FBI

- 1 - Mr. F. J. Cassidy
- 1 - Mr. D. K. Pettus

**UNITED STATES SENATE SELECT COMMITTEE  
TO STUDY GOVERNMENTAL OPERATIONS WITH  
RESPECT TO INTELLIGENCE ACTIVITIES (SSC)**

Attached for your approval and forwarding to the SSC is the original of a memorandum with enclosure which responds to a telephonic request made by an SSC staff member to a Special Agent of the FBI on November 17, 1975, regarding this Bureau's discontinued Counterintelligence Programs (Cointelpros).

A copy of the memorandum and enclosure is also being furnished for your records.

Enclosures - 4

62-116395

1 - The Deputy Attorney General  
Attention: Michael E. Shaheen, Jr.  
Special Counsel for  
Intelligence Coordination

REC-41

62-116395-1143

DEC 9 1975

- 1 - 62-116009 (Cointelpro)
- 1 - 100-449698 (New Left)
- 1 - 100-3-104 (CPUSA)

- Assoc. Dir. \_\_\_\_\_
- Dep. AD Adm. \_\_\_\_\_
- Dep. AD Inv. \_\_\_\_\_
- Asst. Dir.:
- Admin. \_\_\_\_\_
- Comp. Syst. \_\_\_\_\_
- Ext. Affairs \_\_\_\_\_
- Files & Com. \_\_\_\_\_
- Gen. Inv. \_\_\_\_\_
- Ident. \_\_\_\_\_
- Inspection \_\_\_\_\_
- Intell. \_\_\_\_\_
- Laboratory \_\_\_\_\_
- Plan. & Eval. \_\_\_\_\_
- Spec. Inv. \_\_\_\_\_
- Training \_\_\_\_\_
- Legal Coun. \_\_\_\_\_
- Telephone Rm. \_\_\_\_\_
- Director's Sec'y \_\_\_\_\_

DKP:lfj  
(13)

**ENCLOSURE**

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- 1 - Mr. J. A. Mintz
- 1 - Mr. W. R. Wannall
- 1 - Mr. W. O. Cregar
- 1 - Mr. R. L. Shackelford
- 1 - Mr. F. J. Cassidy
- 1 - Mr. D. K. Pettus

62-116395

November 26, 1975

**UNITED STATES SENATE SELECT COMMITTEE  
TO STUDY GOVERNMENTAL OPERATIONS WITH  
RESPECT TO INTELLIGENCE ACTIVITIES (SSC)**

Reference is made to a telephone call from an SSC staff member on November 17, 1975, to a Special Agent of the FBI regarding this Bureau's discontinued Counterintelligence Programs (Cointelpros).

The SSC staff member raised questions as to whether two suggested Cointelpro actions had been authorized and implemented. These actions are as follows:

1. By letter dated March 8, 1965 (file reference 100-3-104-34-1001), the FBI New York Office suggested action be taken concerning a Communist Party, USA, printing press to be obtained from a foreign communist country. This action was not authorized or implemented.

2. By letter dated October 13, 1970 (file reference 100-449698-985), the FBI Detroit Office made inquiry regarding the possible use of a foul-smelling chemical for Cointelpro purposes. Attached is a copy of a FBI Detroit Office letter dated October 23, 1970, withdrawing the initial request. This action was not authorized or implemented.

**Enclosure**

1 - The Attorney General

- Assoc. Dir. \_\_\_\_\_
- Dep. AD Adm. \_\_\_\_\_
- Dep. AD Inv. \_\_\_\_\_
- Asst. Dir.: \_\_\_\_\_
- Admin. \_\_\_\_\_
- Comp. Syst. \_\_\_\_\_
- Ext. Affairs \_\_\_\_\_
- Files & Com. \_\_\_\_\_
- Gen. Inv. \_\_\_\_\_
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- Inspection \_\_\_\_\_
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- Laboratory \_\_\_\_\_
- Plan. & Eval. \_\_\_\_\_
- Spec. Inv. \_\_\_\_\_
- Training \_\_\_\_\_
- Legal Coun. \_\_\_\_\_
- Telephone Rm. \_\_\_\_\_
- Director Sec'y \_\_\_\_\_

- 1 - 62-116009 (Cointelpro)
- 1 - 100-449698 (New Left)
- 1 - 100-3-104 (CPUSA)

SEE NOTE PAGE 2

DKP:lfj  
(12)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 10/16/00 BY SP2/um/arc  
MOR:16

This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Committee. Its use is limited to official proceedings by your Committee and the content may not be disclosed to unauthorized personnel without the express approval of the FBI.

**ENCLOSURE**

MAIL ROOM  TELETYPE UNIT

62-116395-1143

United States Senate Select Committee  
To Study Governmental Operations with  
Respect to Intelligence Activities (SSC)

NOTE:

See letter to Attorney General dated 11/26/75, captioned "United States Senate Select Committee to Study Governmental Operations with Respect to Intelligence Activities (SSC)," prepared by DKP:lfj.

Telephonic request received on 11/17/75 from SSC staff member Barbara Banoff. SA Don K. Pettus telephonically contacted New York Office on 11/19/75. Supervisor Karl R. Buckman advised he was handling the case to which serial 100-3-104-34-1001 (Publisher's New Press) applied and the proposal for Cointelpro action was not implemented. Supervisor David Ryan, FBIHQ, advised on 11/19/75 he was handling the matter at FBIHQ and he recalled the proposed action was not carried out.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-449698) -15

DATE: 10/23/70

FROM : SAC, DETROIT (100-35108)

SUBJECT: COINTELPRO - NEW LEFT

*[Handwritten signature and scribbles]*

ReBulet, 10/23/70.

Reference is also made to Detroit letter, 10/13/70, captioned, "Counterintelligence Program, IS - Disruption of New Left".

The Bureau is requested to please destroy the Detroit request. This project does not have my approval. No such project is contemplated by this office.

Correspondence with the Bureau in connection with this matter is regretted.

- ② - Bureau (RM)
- 1 - Detroit

*icc  
926  
9*

NJW:MMR  
(3)

REC-43  
EX-113

100-449698-15-42

5 OCT 28 1970

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 10/26/00 BY SP2 RM/MLK  
MDR-16

*[Handwritten signature]*

ENCLOSURE

62-116395-1142

31  
NOV 2 1970

5-140 (Rev. 1-21-74) FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20535

Addressee: SENATE SELECT COMMITTEE

LTR  LHM  Memo  Report dated 11/25/75

Caption of Document: U.S. SENATE SELECT COMMITTEE.

11/17/75 telephonic request  
(COINTELPRO)

Originating Office: FBI

Delivered by: Paul Daly 11/28/75 Date: Daly has  
signature

Received by: \_\_\_\_\_

Title: \_\_\_\_\_

Return this receipt to the Intelligence Division, FBI

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 10/26/2000 BY SP8 RUM/ML  
MDR-16



TO: Intelligence Community Staff  
ATTN: Central Index

FROM:  
**FBI**

SUBJECT: Abstract of Information Provided to Select Committees

1. HOW PROVIDED (check appropriate term. If a document was made available for review but not transmitted, so note.)

2. DATE PROVIDED

DOCUMENT     BRIEFING     INTERVIEW     TESTIMONY     OTHER

11-26-75

3. TO WHOM PROVIDED (check appropriate term; add specific names if appropriate)

<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	SSC
<input type="checkbox"/>	HSC

4. IDENTIFICATION (provide descriptive data for documents; give name or identification number of briefer, interviewee, testifier and subject)

**Memorandum**

5. IN RESPONSE TO (list date and item number if in response to formal request, otherwise state verbal request of (name), initiative, subpoena, etc.)

**SSC Staff Member telephone call 11-17-75**

6. CLASSIFICATION OF INFORMATION (enter U, C, S, TS or Codeword)

**U**

7. KEY WORDS (enter the appropriate key words from the list provided separately; if key words not listed are used underline for emphasis)

**Operating procedures**

8. SUMMARY (see reverse side before completing this item)

Questions raised concerning COINTELPRO documents, 100-3-104-1001 and 100-449698-985. Actions re each were not authorized or implemented.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 01/26/2000 BY SP2 Dm/llk  
MDR-1/6

62-116395

AJD:ds  
(4)

ORIGINAL VIA LIAISON TO CENTRAL COMMUNITY INDEX  
IN CONNECTION WITH SENSTUDY 75.

TREAT AS YELLOW

## INSTRUCTIONS

- Type or print clearly in ink.
- Indicate classification of the abstract top and bottom.
- Date the abstract and put on any internal control numbers required.
- "FROM" entry should clearly identify the organization providing the information.
- If additions (as when a copy of document sent to SSC is later sent to HSC) or changes to a previously submitted form are necessary, submit a copy of the original abstract, with the change indicated.

SPECIFIC ITEM NO. 8. SUMMARY - enter brief narrative statement describing substance of information and showing relationship to Intelligence Community matters if appropriate. Any feedback or evidence of investigatory interests should be noted. Commitments made to supply additional information should be noted. Additionally, certain administrative information may be entered here, e.g., restrictions on review of a document, if document was paraphrased, whether interviewee is current or former employee, etc. If actual document or transcript is provided, that fact should be noted and no summary is required. Additional pages may be attached if necessary.

- 1 - Mr. J. B. Adams
- 1 - Mr. J. A. Mintz
- 1 - Mr. W. R. Wannall

The Attorney General

November 19, 1975

Director, FBI

- 1 - Mr. W. A. Branigan  
(Attn: J. Lee)
- 1 - Mr. W. O. Cregar
- 1 - Mr. S. F. Phillips

U. S. SENATE SELECT COMMITTEE  
ON INTELLIGENCE ACTIVITIES (SSC)

Enclosed is the original of a memorandum reporting the interview of former FBI Deputy Assistant Director Paul O'Connell by an SSC Staff Member. Also enclosed is a copy of the memorandum for forwarding to Mr. James A. Wilderotter, Associate Counsel to the President.

Enclosures (2)

62-116395

- 1 - The Deputy Attorney General  
Attention: Michael E. Shaheen, Jr.  
Special Counsel for  
Intelligence Coordination

- 1 - 67- (Personnel file former Deputy Assistant Director Paul O'Connell)

SFP:dsh  
(11)

Delivered to Mr. T. J. T. 11-19-75 1:40

- Assoc. Dir. \_\_\_\_\_
- Dep. AD Adm. \_\_\_\_\_
- Dep. AD Inv. \_\_\_\_\_
- Asst. Dir.:
- Admin. \_\_\_\_\_
- Comp. Syst. \_\_\_\_\_
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- Files & Com. \_\_\_\_\_
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- Spec. Inv. \_\_\_\_\_
- Training \_\_\_\_\_
- Legal Coun. \_\_\_\_\_
- Telephone Rm. \_\_\_\_\_

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 10/25/00 BY SP8 ALM/PMC

REC-7 62-116 375-1139

DEC 5 1975

SECRET MATERIAL ATTACHED

MAIL ROOM  TELETYPE UNIT

84 DEC 10 1975

**SECRET**

- 1 - Mr. J. B. Adams
- 1 - Mr. J. A. Mintz
- 1 - Mr. W. R. Wannall
- 1 - Mr. W. A. Branigan  
(Attn: J. Lee)

62-116395

November 19, 1975

- 1 - Mr. W. O. Cregar
- 1 - Mr. S. F. Phillips

**U. S. SENATE SELECT COMMITTEE  
TO STUDY GOVERNMENTAL OPERATIONS  
WITH RESPECT TO INTELLIGENCE ACTIVITIES (SSC)**

**RE: INTERVIEW OF FORMER DEPUTY  
ASSISTANT DIRECTOR PAUL O'CONNELL  
BY SSC STAFF MEMBER**

The following concerns the interview of former FBI Deputy Assistant Director Paul O'Connell by an SSC Staff Member.

On November 10, 1975, Mr. James Dick, SSC Staff Member, requested of the FBI's Legal Counsel Division that O'Connell be made available for a Staff interview concerning his knowledge of mail openings. The FBI waived O'Connell's confidentiality agreement with the FBI for the purpose of the interview for the prescribed subject matter of mail openings.

There follows a statement which O'Connell voluntarily furnished the FBI concerning the interview of him.

"On the afternoon of November 10, 1975, Mr. James Dick, Senate Select Committee, telephonically contacted me at my residence and requested that I submit to an interview later in the week regarding mail opening procedures in the San Francisco Office. He stated I had been selected for an interview as I had been an Assistant Special Agent in Charge (ASAC) of the San Francisco Office during the early 1960's.

ORIGINAL AND ONE COPY TO AG

- Assoc. Dir. \_\_\_\_\_
- Dep. AD Adm. \_\_\_\_\_
- Dep. AD Inv. 1 \_\_\_\_\_
- Asst. Dir.: \_\_\_\_\_
- Admin. \_\_\_\_\_
- Comp. Syst. \_\_\_\_\_
- Ext. Affairs \_\_\_\_\_
- Files & Com. \_\_\_\_\_
- Gen. Inv. SFP:dsh \_\_\_\_\_
- Ident. (10) \_\_\_\_\_
- Inspection \_\_\_\_\_
- Intell. \_\_\_\_\_
- Laboratory \_\_\_\_\_
- Plan. & Eval. \_\_\_\_\_
- Spec. Inv. \_\_\_\_\_
- Training \_\_\_\_\_
- Legal Coun. \_\_\_\_\_
- Telephone Rm. \_\_\_\_\_
- Director Sec'y \_\_\_\_\_

(Personnel file former Deputy Assistant Director Paul O'Connell)

**DECLASSIFIED BY SP2 DM/MAF**  
ON 10/26/2000  
MOR-16  
2041

SEE NOTE PAGE FOUR

Classified by \_\_\_\_\_  
Exempt from GDS, Category 2, 3  
Date of Declassification Indefinite

*SFP*  
*PRM*  
*woc 18*

MAIL ROOM  TELETYPE UNIT

**SECRET**

62-116395-1137 GPO 1975 O-569-920

~~SECRET~~

U. S. Senate Select Committee  
to Study Governmental Operations  
With Respect to Intelligence Activities (SSC)

Re: Interview of Former Deputy Assistant  
Director Paul O'Connell by SSC Staff Member

"He stated Special Agent (SA) Paul Daly was aware of their interest in interviewing me and suggested I contact Daly. I did so and on the morning of November 11, 1975, I came to the Bureau and spoke to SAs Daly and Elmer Larson. SA Larson stated the Bureau had furnished the Committee various documents regarding mail opening programs. I told him the only program I was aware of was that involving mail from the Chinese Mainland. SA Larson and SA Daly stated that my appearance was voluntary and that if I felt I wanted to exercise my Fifth Amendment rights, the Department of Justice could be requested to secure an attorney for me. They stated that the Bureau had no objection to my appearing or to my admitting my knowledge of the Chinese mail opening program.

"I thereafter met with Mr. Dick at approximately 3:15 p.m. that day, November 11, 1975. While I met Mr. Dick at the Dirksen Office Building, the interview was conducted with Mr. Dick in a room at the former Carroll Arms Hotel. Only Mr. Dick was present. He advised me that my appearance and discussion was voluntary, that I had the right to an attorney, etc. I told him that I had been given clearance from the Bureau to discuss the mail opening program and that I would answer any questions he might have. He stated there had been three programs: SAM, CHIPROP and CHICLET, and he desired to know of my knowledge of these programs. I told him that very frankly the number of years that had elapsed prevented me from recognizing the names of the programs, but I was aware that the San Francisco Office had a program for the opening of mail from the Chinese Mainland. Whether it was also opening mail to the Chinese Mainland I did not recall. He showed me documents regarding the programs which had been furnished the Committee by the Bureau. These were, apparently, semi-annual justification letters for the CHIPROP and CHICLET programs. He asked whether I had recalled having approved any of these communications going to the Bureau. I stated I could not recall. He noted that my initials did not appear on the copies that he possessed.

- 2 -

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

U. S. Senate Select Committee  
to Study Governmental Operations  
With Respect to Intelligence Activities (SSC)

Re: Interview of Former Deputy Assistant  
Director Paul O'Connell by SSC Staff Member

"With respect to my knowledge of these programs, I explained that the ASAC was involved with the administrative as well as investigative operations of the office and that once a program was instituted, the officials of the office would not be knowledgeable of the day-to-day operations of the program, but that any changes in procedures, etc., would be approved by supervisory officials. He asked which desk would have supervised the Chinese mail opening program. I told him that to my recollection it was the espionage squad, supervised by Richard Fletcher.

"He asked for a rundown on my assignments in the Bureau from the mid-1950's to the present, which I outlined for him. He requested the names of the SACs during my assignment to the San Francisco Office, which I furnished. He then asked that I describe the administrative setup of the office. As this did not involve mail opening, I decided to telephonically contact Mr. Gregar at Bureau Headquarters to see if there was any objection to answering this and he said there was none. I then explained that in addition to the SAC and the ASAC, there were approximately 12 desks (squads) including the night supervisory desk and that there were three security squads; the espionage squad, and two internal security squads. He requested the names of the supervisors of these squads and I informed him that the supervisor of the espionage squad was Richard Fletcher, and that Harry Clifford and Glenn Harter were supervisors of the internal security squads. He asked if the two internal security supervisors handled the same work and I told him I thought the breakdown was that one handled organizations and the other individuals.

"Mr. Dick stated that they desired this information for background information as the Bureau has acknowledged the existence of the program and had furnished copies of various documents. He said that there would be no more hearings by the Committee concerning mail openings and that he anticipated the Committee will complete its work in February. The interview concluded at approximately 4:00 p.m."

- 3 -

~~SECRET~~

U. S. Senate Select Committee  
to Study Governmental Operations  
With Respect to Intelligence Activities (SSC)

Re: Interview of Former Deputy Assistant  
Director Paul O'Connell by SSC Staff Member

NOTE:

Dick's contact with the Legal Counsel Division was with Supervisor P. V. Daly. After the interview, O'Connell dictated his statement to a Bureau stenographer.

TO: Intelligence Community Staff  
ATTN: Central Index

FROM:  
**FBI**

SUBJECT: Abstract of Information Provided to Select Committees

1. HOW PROVIDED (check appropriate term. If a document was made available for review but not transmitted, so note.)

2. DATE PROVIDED

DOCUMENT      BRIEFING       INTERVIEW      TESTIMONY      OTHER

**11/19/75**

3. TO WHOM PROVIDED (check appropriate term; add specific names if appropriate)

SSC

**The Attorney General with a copy for forwarding to the White House**

HSC

4. IDENTIFICATION (provide descriptive data for documents; give name or identification number of briefer, interviewee, testifier and subject)

**Memorandum reporting the results of an interview by SSC Staff Member of former Deputy Assistant Director Paul O'Connell.**

5. IN RESPONSE TO (list date and item number if in response to formal request, otherwise state verbal request of (name), initiative, subpoena, etc.)

**NA.**

6. CLASSIFICATION OF INFORMATION (enter U, C, S, TS or Codeword)

**S**

7. KEY WORDS (enter the appropriate key words from the list provided separately; if key words not listed are used underline for emphasis)

**Intelligence collection  
Information handling  
Organization and staffing**

8. SUMMARY (see reverse side before completing this item)

**Interviewed regarding his knowledge of mail opening procedures in the San Francisco Office also questioned regarding the administrative setup of the San Francisco office.**

**62-116395**

**FMK: fmk**

**(4)**

**ORIGINAL VIA LIAISON TO CENTRAL COMMUNITY INDEX  
IN CONNECTION WITH SENSTUDY 75**

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 10/16/00 BY SSA [signature]

**TREAT AS YELLOW**

**MDR-16**

*51 [signature]*



## INSTRUCTIONS

- Type or print clearly in ink.
- Indicate classification of the abstract top and bottom.
- Date the abstract and put on any internal control numbers required.
- "FROM" entry should clearly identify the organization providing the information.
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SPECIFIC ITEM NO. 8. SUMMARY - enter brief narrative statement describing substance of information and showing relationship to Intelligence Community matters if appropriate. Any feedback or evidence of investigatory interests should be noted. Commitments made to supply additional information should be noted. Additionally, certain administrative information may be entered here, e.g., restrictions on review of a document, if document was paraphrased, whether interviewee is current or former employee, etc. If actual document or transcript is provided, that fact should be noted and no summary is required. Additional pages may be attached if necessary.

Lansome base  
oblique material

(4)

- 1 - Mr. Donahoe
  - 1 - Mr. Downing
  - 1 - Mr. Ruchl
- February 28, 1961

SAC, San Francisco (134-1937)

Director, FBI (134-9844) - 2

CS SF 2471-S\*  
IS - CH

mt

Reurlet 2-13-61.

Careful consideration has been given to recommendations furnished by you in relet with regard to captioned subject. The Bureau has decided that it is not warranted at this time to expand our present coverage to include all available contacts among the Chinese in Canada and U. S.

The volume of translation resulting from such additional coverage would necessitate Bureau employing at least one more full-time Chinese translator. Such an expense cannot be justified based on results of this coverage to date. Bureau has reviewed 83 items submitted by your office furnished by captioned source and translated by Chinese-language Bureau translators. Of these, 79 were merely contacts among Chinese in Canada and Chinese in U. S. exchanging personal news. The remaining four included letters from individuals in Communist China to Chinese in U. S. However, these, too, were devoted to personal information.

The Bureau has no objection to your using this source in obtaining information in specific cases such as the ones cited in relet nor will the Bureau object to translating items available to this source which you consider should be translated in order that the best interests of the Bureau may be served. However, when submitting items for translation, other than those relating to specific cases, set forth in the cover communication reasons for submitting such items for translation.

MAILED 31  
FEB 28 1961  
COMM-FBI

You indicated in relet that you believe Chinese Communists send propaganda into U. S. via Canada in order to circumvent U. S. regulations regarding such propaganda. Based on this assumption, you further conclude that this line of communication will be used for espionage communications. In the event you receive positive indications of such espionage

- Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- Parsons \_\_\_\_\_
- Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
- Belmont \_\_\_\_\_
- Callahan \_\_\_\_\_
- Conrad \_\_\_\_\_
- DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_
- Evans \_\_\_\_\_
- Malone \_\_\_\_\_
- Rosen \_\_\_\_\_
- Tavel \_\_\_\_\_
- Trotter \_\_\_\_\_
- W.C. Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Ingram \_\_\_\_\_

VER:ms  
(6)  
MAR 1 1961

Date of Declassification Indefinite

Exempt from GDS, Category \_\_\_\_\_

SEE NOTE PAGE 2

1167

Exempt from GDS, Category 2B3

Date of Declassification Indefinite

Letter to SAC, San Francisco

Re: CS SF 2471-S\*

134-9844

communications furnish Bureau complete details and consideration will be given to expanding coverage available through captioned source. Do not initiate such general coverage without first obtaining specific Bureau authority.

NOTE: [CS SF 2279-S\*] a highly confidential source of San Francisco Office, furnishes information regarding letters emanating from Communist China and destined for individuals in U. S. Majority of such information is in Chinese language. San Francisco furnishes Photostats of these letters to Bureau where they are translated. Translations are then returned to San Francisco and San Francisco has responsibility of paraphrasing this information to protect source, and furnishing information to appropriate field offices for additional investigation. San Francisco letter 1-19-61 advised another highly confidential source had been developed which could furnish similar information re Chinese in Canada contacting Chinese in U. S. Majority of this information would also be in Chinese language and would require translation at Bureau. Bulet 2-3-61 instructed San Francisco to furnish Bureau more information re this new source (captioned subject) and specifically indicate value of such coverage. San Francisco letter 2-13-61 advised that the presence of pro Chinese Communist individuals in Canada indicated need for such coverage. San Francisco pointed out Chinese Communists could conceivably contact individuals in the U. S. via Canada for espionage purposes. Also pointed out several specific cases regarding individuals in Canada whose activities are of interest to the Bureau and these cases could receive additional coverage through captioned source. San Francisco being instructed Bureau does not desire this source be activated in same manner as CS SF 2279-S\*. The volume of material which would require translation would necessitate at least one more Chinese-language translator in the Translation Section. 33 sample items available from captioned source were reviewed and it was determined after translating these items that the information contained therein was of no value to Bureau. It should be noted that there is no indication at this time that Chinese Communists are sending espionage communications into U. S. by way of Canada. San Francisco being instructed to use this coverage only for specific cases and for submitting those items which it is believed will be of interest in this matter to Bureau.

Parsons basic  
Blican material

SAC, San Francisco (134-1987)

2/3/61

Director, FBI (134-9844)

PERSONAL ATTENTION

REC-31  
CS SF 2471-S\*  
IS - CH

Reurlet 1/19/61.

Immediately advise Bureau nature of information available from captioned source.

Relet implies information will be similar to that now being furnished by CS SF 2279-S\*. If this is true, Bureau cannot see value of covering contacts between Chinese in Canada and Chinese in United States unless a strong presumption exists that the individuals in Canada are Chinese Communists.

VER:msb

(6)

NOTE: CS SF 2279-S\*, a highly confidential source of San Francisco Office, furnishes information regarding letters emanating from Communist China and destined for individuals in U. S. Majority of such information is in Chinese language. San Francisco furnishes Photostats of these letters to Bureau where they are translated. Translations are then returned to San Francisco, and San Francisco has responsibility of paraphrasing this information to protect CS SF 2279-S\* and furnishing information to appropriate field offices for additional investigation. Relet advised San Francisco has developed an anonymous source which can furnish information of value re Chinese Communist intelligence activities regarding Canadian and U. S. contacts. This information will be in Chinese language and San Francisco intends to handle this information in the same fashion as information received from CS SF 2279-S\* described above. San Francisco has proposed code name CHICAN (Chinese Communist Propaganda entering San Francisco from Canada) be used for this coverage. Apparently, proposed coverage concerns contacts between Chinese in Canada and Chinese in U. S. There is no indication that such coverage will be productive. San Francisco being instructed to furnish nature of information available from captioned source and indicate why such coverage will prove of value.

COPIES  
134-1987  
134-9844

- Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
- Parsons \_\_\_\_\_
- Belmont \_\_\_\_\_
- Callahan \_\_\_\_\_
- Conrad \_\_\_\_\_
- DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_
- Malone \_\_\_\_\_
- McGuire \_\_\_\_\_
- Rosen \_\_\_\_\_
- Trotter \_\_\_\_\_
- Evans \_\_\_\_\_
- W.C. Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Ingram \_\_\_\_\_
- Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

Classified by 6283  
Exempt from GDS, Category 2+3  
Date of Declassification Indefinite

51 FEB 9 1961

Declassification 67 1167 10/8/75

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Larson  
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basic  
material

Memorandum

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Declassified by 1167 10/8/75

12

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI

DATE: 1/19/61

FROM : SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (134-1987)

APY Confidential Source

SUBJECT: (CS SF 2471-S\*)

San Francisco is now being furnished by an anonymous source with information of value in the Chinese communist intelligence field relative to Canadian and U.S. contacts. San Francisco believes that this contact at this time with this (anonymous) source will be on a continual basis.

Photostats of this material, which is in Chinese characters, will be forwarded to the Bureau and it is requested the translations be handled in the same manner as that of (CHIPROP (Bufile 100-394984)).

Interested offices will be advised in the same manner as is now done with (CS SF 2279-S\*)

San Francisco will forward photostats to the Bureau via the attached form, upon the Bureau's approval of this form. It is suggested that the code name of CHICAN (Chinese Communist Propaganda entering San Francisco from Canada) be used for the attachment.

For administrative purposes, a new source file has been opened and the source has been given symbol number (CS SF 2471-S\*)

- 2 - Bureau (Encl. 1) (A.P. REG.)
- 1 - SF
- PJH/ljs
- (3)

ENCLOSURE

MCT-25

REC-33

Classified by 6283  
Exempt from GDS, Category 2, 3  
Date of Declassification Indefinite

134-9844-1

JAN 23 1961

EX-113

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

INT. SEC.

Declassified by 1167 10/8/75

Let to S.F.  
VE R...  
3-61



Persons basic  
bullet material

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

*Declassified by 1167  
10/2/75*  
~~SECRET~~

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI

DATE: 4/29/64

FROM : SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (134-2725)(P)

SUBJECT: CSSF 2670-S\*  
CONFIDENTIAL SOURCE - CHINA

Re San Francisco airtel, 1/10/64, and Bureau letter to San Francisco, 2/10/64, captioned "CHICLET, IS-CH".

Source has been furnishing material Monday through Friday since 1/18/64. Pertinent data is disseminated under a dual caption of the subject of any investigation deriving therefrom and "CHICLET, IS-CH," Bureau file 105-121706.

On the basis of data set out below, it is recommended that this source be continued in view of the valuable information received which is not being furnished by other sources.

The following summarizes data obtained from CSSF 2670-S\* from 1/8/64 through about 3/31/64:

### I. Communist Chinese Literature and Propaganda

#### A. "Peking Review," Pro-Chinese Communist, English Language

Over 20 subscribers identified.

#### B. Radio Peking

Numerous persons in contact with and seeking literature from Radio Peking identified.

#### C. Miscellaneous Publications

Subscribers to following identified:

"China Reconstructs," English language, pro-Chinese Communist publication.

134-14512-3  
4 MAR 1 1964

- 2 - Bureau (RM)
  - 1 - San Francisco
- RES/lr  
(3)

~~ENCLOSURE~~

REC-20

~~SECRET~~

NAT. SEC. REC.

Classified by 6283  
Exempt from GDS, Category 2 + 3  
Date of Declassification Indefinite

~~SECRET~~

SF 134-2725  
RES/lr

"Minzu Huabao," (National Minorities pictorial).

"Wen Wu," Chicom newspaper printed in Hong Kong.

"Evergreen," pro-Chinese Communist youth magazine.

D. China Books and Periodicals (CBP), Bufile 105-89879

In 2/64, 45 persons were identified as subscribing or renewing subscriptions to various Chicom publications through GUOZI SHUDIAN (International Book Store) handled by CBP, a registered foreign agent. In 3/64, 103 persons were so identified. Financial data re CBP and GUOZI SHUDIAN obtained.

E. Miscellaneous Requests

Individuals requesting various Chicom publications, etc., identified.

II. Chicom Collection of Scientific Data From United States

A number of instances of collection of scientific and technical data have been reported. A list of 52 publications sent to HAIWEN SHUDIAN from the Radio Technical Commission for Aeronautics, Washington, D. C. was obtained. Exchange of data between Professor EDGAR F. WESTRUM, JR., University of Michigan, and Dr. CHOU CHIEN, American-educated Chinese now in Peking, reported. Contact of RCA employee by former Purdue University classmate after 12 years reported. Classmate is American-educated Chinese now a member of Joint Institute for Nuclear Research in China. The dispatch of mechanical engineering journals to China was also reported.

III. Data Concerning Subjects Under Investigation

Source has furnished information concerning the following Subjects of Bureau investigations:

FOREIGN  
INTELLIGENCE  
INFO

[REDACTED], who has been identified as a Chicom intelligence agent operating in the US; [REDACTED]

[ROBERT CHARLES FRIEND (Bureau file 100-393066).]

~~SECRET~~

SF 134-2725  
RES/lr

~~SECRET~~

WILLIAM THOMAS VILA (Bureau file 100-405501), New York Office Security Index subject, editor of "Marxist-Leninist Vanguard," change of address obtained.

CHARLES TAYLOR ADAMS (Bureau file 105-64427), distributor of ANNA L. STRONG Newsletter.

BERNARD F. KOROTZER (Bureau file 100-426872) and wife (Bureau file 100-435479).

DOROTHY FISCHER CHENG (Bureau file 100-380306) traveled abroad and identity of relatives.

SIDNEY SHAPIRO (Bureau file 100-39229), activities and relatives.

ISIDORE NEEDLEMAN (Bureau file 100-341652).

JACK ROVINSKY, aka STANLEY BENDER (Bureau file 100-341652).

ESTHER TANNEBAUM, mother of GERALD TANNEBAUM (Bureau file 105-36074); she departed U.S. 3/20/64 for Hong Kong.

SUSAN RATHBONE (Mrs. FRANK RATHBONE) sister of principals in Sun Ring, relatives identified.

JAMES CHAO (Bureau file 105-65268)

SCOTT NEARING (Bureau file 100-16842) and wife; data re travel abroad.

BRADFORD J. LYTTLE (Bureau file 105-121706), National Secretary of Committee for Non-violent Action, requested printed matter, films, etc.

LORENZO LO (Bureau file 105-119807) activities and sympathies.

[CHANG Kai-shek] details of scheme to extort large sums from leader of [Nationalist China] revealed.

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

IV. Chinese Communist Sympathies in United States

Numerous persons residing in United States who have expressed sympathy for Chinese Communists have been identified.

V. Chinese Communist Sympathizers Abroad

Set out below is data reflecting Chinese Communist interest or sympathy in certain Central and South American countries as reported by source:

Brazil

"China Reconstructs," about 50 subscribers identified.

"China Illustrated," 8 subscribers identified.

"China Pictorial" 2 members of Legislative Assembly identified as subscribers.

British Guiana

"Progressive Youth Organization" in Georgetown accepted invitation to send delegation to visit China.

Contact of JACOB ROVINSKY, aka (above) identified.

Colombia

"China Pictorial" 3 subscribers identified.

Chinese Communist sympathizers identified.

Bolivia, Uruguay, Panama

Chinese Communist sympathizers identified.

Peru

Chinese Communist sympathizers identified who attended Conference of Peoples in Havana, Cuba.

~~SECRET~~

From Parsons  
basic black material.

10

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : W. C. Sullivan *WCS*

DATE: 11/20/63  
1 - C.F. Downing

FROM : W. R. Wannall *WRW*

1 - Belmont  
1 - Sullivan

- Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- Belmont
- Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
- Casper \_\_\_\_\_
- Callahan \_\_\_\_\_
- Conrad \_\_\_\_\_
- DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_
- Evans \_\_\_\_\_
- Gale \_\_\_\_\_
- Rosen
- Sullivan
- Tavel \_\_\_\_\_
- Trotter \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Holmes \_\_\_\_\_
- Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

SUBJECT: COMMUNICATIONS FROM UNITED STATES TO HONG KONG AND COMMUNIST CHINA  
INTERNAL SECURITY - CHINA

*WRW*  
*Wannall*

San Francisco is in a position to apply Sam Survey technique to mail destined for Communist China. Sam Survey is New York program whereby outgoing airmail to selected European countries is examined to detect illegal Soviet-bloc agents.

Airmail to Hong Kong and Communist China exits U. S. through San Francisco, thus coverage at San Francisco would amount to national coverage. Survey by San Francisco disclosed this coverage will involve approximately four Special Agents utilized full time on six-day workweek. Ample space is available for processing the mail.

New York originally tested Sam Survey for period of two months on very limited amount of mail which was destined for Communist China. New York picked up eight items indicating such strong pro-Chinese Communist sentiments that further investigation was warranted. These cases are still pending. New York can furnish San Francisco with Watch List to facilitate screening mail.

We know U. S. is prime target of Chinese Communist intelligence. Investigation of Susan and Richard Frank, (New York Security Index subjects) disclosed they may be working in U. S. for Chinese Communists. Gus Hall, Communist Party (CP) USA, suspects Susan Frank of being Chinese Communist agent. In September, 1963, Richard Frank, substituting for his wife, Susan, made a hurried trip to London.

NY 694-S\* advised that Richard Frank on recent visit to London was in contact with TANG Ming-chao and Israel Epstein. TANG is head of American Department of Chinese CP in charge of political intelligence relating to CP's in English-speaking countries. Epstein is editor of "China Reconstructs," English-language Chinese Communist propaganda publication, and appears to be engaged in Chinese Communist intelligence operation re Sino-Soviet dispute. TANG and Epstein reportedly maintained close liaison with Richard Frank. NY 4112-S\* reported Susan Frank is in contact with individuals in Communist China.

In 1962, a Chinese Communist defected from Chinese Communist Embassy, Stockholm, Sweden. The defector stated on more than one occasion, registered mail from U. S. was received at Chinese Communist Embassy and was immediately turned over to Military Attache. Defector had no knowledge





UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

## ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

TO : *W. C. Sullivan*

DATE: February 7, 1964

FROM : *W. R. Wannall*

- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. Downing
- 1 - Mr. Wannall
- 1 - V. E. Ruehl

SUBJECT: CSSF 2670-S\*  
CONFIDENTIAL SOURCE  
INTERNAL SECURITY - CHINA

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
 Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
 Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
 Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
 Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
 DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
 Evans \_\_\_\_\_  
 Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
 Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
 Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
 Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
 Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
 Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
 Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
 Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

CSSF 2670-S\* is highly sensitive source developed by San Francisco whereby we have access to communications from United States destined for Hong Kong and Communist China. To facilitate handling volume of correspondence involved in this operation, recommended code word, "CHICLET" be approved for control file.

This coverage was initiated 1-8-64 and results to date indicate it will be a most valuable and productive source. San Francisco is observing administrative procedures previously approved for "CHIPROP" a program initiated 1956 for covering mail from China to United States.

Code word "CHICLET" has not been previously used. Its use will not interfere with any investigation.

**ACTION:**

Recommended attached letter be sent San Francisco instructing code word "CHICLET" be used.

Enclosure

VER:mam:epj  
(6)

105-121706

*VER*  
*Succ*  
*A*

REC  
MCT

134-121706-1

17 FEB 19 1964

XEROX

68 FEB 24 1964  
68 MAR 4 1964

UNRECORDED/COPY FILED IN 105-121706

NAT  
REC  
105-121706

Larsons basic  
bucket material

9

DIRECTOR, FBI

5/19/66

SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (C)

CSSF 2641-S\*

CONFIDENTIAL SOURCE - (CH)

Bufile 134-12035

SF File 134-2596

CSSF 2670-S\*

CONFIDENTIAL SOURCE - (CH)

Bufile 134-12512

SF File 134-2725

12

Re San Francisco airtel to Bureau dated 1/24/66.

Contact with above sources was temporarily discontinued on 1/24/66 for security reasons involving local changes in postal personnel.

Current inquiry reveals that, while the physical plant and postal schedules are unchanged from period of prior contact with sources, the security risk remains.

While it is realized these sources furnished valuable information to the Federal Government, it is not believed the value justifies the risk involved. It is not recommended that contact with sources be re-established.

4 - Bureau (AM-RM)  
 (2 - 134-12035)  
 (2 - 134-12512)  
 2 - San Francisco  
 (1 - 134-2596)  
 (1 - 134-2725)

RES/cmp  
 (6)

134-2596

NOT RECORDED

MAY 23 1966

*Handwritten initials*

CONFIDENTIAL FILED

8

Larsons basic manual

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

~~SECRET~~

# Memorandum

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
 Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
 Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
 Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
 DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
 Evans \_\_\_\_\_  
 Malone \_\_\_\_\_  
 Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
 Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
 Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
 Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
 Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
 Ingram \_\_\_\_\_  
 Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

TO : W. C. Sullivan *WCS*

DATE: 9-15-61

FROM : S. B. Donahoe *SD*

- ~~1 - Mr. Belmont~~
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. Donahoe
- 1 - Mr. Callahan
- 1 - Mr. Huelskamp
- 1 - Mr. Ruehl

SUBJECT: CHIPROP  
CS SF 2279-S\*

This is semiannual evaluation of captioned program.

ORIGIN:

San Francisco (8-1-56) developed (CS SF 2279-S\*) a highly confidential source, which since its inception has furnished valuable information regarding (Chinese) security matters. Source supplies data regarding contacts between persons in (Communist China) and (Hong Kong) with persons in the United States. Most of this information is in the (Chinese) language. San Francisco furnishes photostats of (Chinese) language material to Bureau for transliteration. Transliterations are returned to San Francisco where pertinent information is paraphrased and sent to interested field offices.

PURPOSE:

Program is designed to identify individuals, particularly in the United States, who because of their contacts with individuals in (Communist China) may constitute a threat to the internal security of the United States.

SCOPE:

Program is field wide. Majority of investigation, however, is conducted by offices wherein (Chinese)-speaking personnel are assigned as they are located in areas having large (Chinese) population.

TIE IN WITH OTHER PROGRAMS:

This program furnishes such a vast amount of information that it touches all areas of (Chinese) investigation. It has been particularly helpful in identifying (Chinese) scientists in the United States who plan to depart for (Communist China). Bureau has program whereby particular coverage is given to such individuals in order to prevent removal of information or material vital to national defense.

Declassified by 1167 10/9/75

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN

~~SECRET~~

(134-5103)

EX-111

REC-95

6283

(100-394984) (CHIPROP)

CLASSIFIED BY  
 EXEMPT FROM GENERAL DECLASSIFICATION  
 SCHEDULE OF EXECUTIVE ORDER 11652  
 EXEMPTION CATEGORY

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

Memorandum Donahoe to Sullivan

Re: CHIPROP

CS SF 2279-S\*

134-5108

CASE LOAD:

Forty-six cases are presently in pending status. In past twelve months, 169 cases have been closed.

COST:

Source is not paid. Cases resulting from this program are absorbed by Agents currently investigating security cases.

PAST OR PRESENT WEAKNESSES:

Source operates on a secure basis, and San Francisco is aware if security of this operation becomes an issue Bureau is to be advised immediately and operation discontinued until such time as security can again be guaranteed.

ADMINISTRATIVE CONTROLS:

San Francisco furnishes other divisions with paraphrased information obtained from this operation and also furnishes instructions to search field office indices and if necessary continue investigation to resolve whether individuals are security problems. San Francisco has responsibility to determine security classification to be placed on information furnished by source. Results of investigations are furnished Bureau thus keeping Bureau informed as to current status of all investigations resulting from this program. Program is examined semiannually at Seat of Government to determine if changes are necessary. San Francisco at six-month intervals furnishes information regarding security of source and summary of significant accomplishments for prior six-month period.

ADEQUACY AND CURRENTNESS OF INSTRUCTIONS:

Bureau's instructions regarding handling material furnished by source are current and adequate. San Francisco's instructions to field are also current and adequate.

OVER-ALL VALUE:

Program furnishes a great amount of pertinent information regarding activities within Communist China. It provides an

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Memorandum Donahoe to Sullivan

Re: CHIRPOP

CS SF 2279-S\*

134-5103

accurate picture of scientific and economic conditions and has disclosed the reaction of the population to the efforts of (Communist China) to achieve certain scientific and economic goals. We have received information concerning (Chinese) educated in the United States who have returned to (Communist China) and in these cases, we have been able to identify the type of scientific work in which these individuals are engaged. During past six months, source has noted a considerable increase in complaints emanating from (Chinese) in vastly separated areas regarding deplorable economic conditions. Most prevalent complaint is that food is extremely difficult to obtain, and as a result, many (Chinese) are suffering from malnutrition and other maladies resulting from lack of nutritious foods. As a result of food shortage, numerous (Hong Kong) firms have been established to forward food packages to individuals in (Communist China) from overseas (Chinese). Food is in such short supply in (China) that even if an individual has money, he is unable to find food to purchase. This deplorable state has been verified in communications written by diplomatic personnel who are assigned to (Communist China). These individuals uniformly detest their assignment and eagerly await reassignment. Source furnishes lists of subscribers in United States to (Chinese Communist) magazines published in (China). We also receive current information regarding identities, locations, and political beliefs of former (Korean) prisoners of war who decided to remain in (China).

Source has identified numerous (Caucasians) traveling in (Communist China) and such information in the case of United States citizens or permanent resident aliens in United States has been made available to State Department. Bureau has been able to identify scientists in the United States who maintain contact with United States educated (Chinese) scientists who have returned to (China). From these contacts, we have been able to establish the particular types of scientific information (Chinese Communists) are endeavoring to obtain. Information from this source has made it clear (Chinese Communists) are maintaining a continuing pressure on (Chinese) scientists in the United States to return to (Communist China). Source recently furnished names and addresses of individuals in the United States receiving pornographic material from (Communist China) and appropriate field offices have been notified. Source identified a United States citizen, (a Cuban) who formerly resided in New York City and who is

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Memorandum Donahoe to Sullivan

Re: CHIFFOP  
CS SF 2279-5\*  
134-5108

now studying in (Communist China) as a narcotics addict in contact with addicts residing in New York City. The individual in (China) hopes to obtain names and addresses of individuals in Europe from whom narcotics may be purchased. San Francisco at frequent intervals reviews information furnished by source and reduces pertinent items of interest to other Government agencies to letterhead memoranda which are furnished Bureau and subsequently disseminated.

CONTEMPLATED ACTION:

This program will be continued without change.

OPERATION OF SOURCE:

Agents handling this operation daily process approximately 13,500 first-class items, and this is done within two two-hour periods. Because of security consideration involved, number of personnel engaged in this operation is held to absolute minimum. Agents extract approximately one hundred items a day for consideration and possible further action. San Francisco furnishes field divisions only material which can be considered as having potential intelligence value.

Transliterations of (Chinese) language material emanating from source are reviewed at Bureau, and names are searched for main file or espionage references. In view of characteristic lack of identifying data, no other references are reviewed as, if information requires further investigation, such inquiry will disclose background data which will enable us to determine whether Bureau records contain information identifiable with individual concerning whom source has furnished data. Main files are searched in order that copies of transliterations may be placed in such files. Espionage references are reviewed, even though it may not be possible to effect an immediate identification, in order that field will be provided such data which may or may not be identical with individuals concerning whom source has furnished information.

RECOMMENDATION:

Procedures for handling this program be reviewed in six months to determine if any changes are necessary.

Handwritten initials and signatures: JEC, [unclear], [unclear], [unclear]

~~SECRET~~



Return to  
Lansons base material

7

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

~~SECRET~~

(1)

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (134-5108)

DATE: 3/11/60

FROM : SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (134-1132)

SUBJECT: (CS SF 2279-S\*)  
CONFIDENTIAL SOURCE - [CHINESE]

ReBulet 2/23/60.

The following data is being furnished to the Bureau concerning the operation of this source:

The operation of this source is secure from all standpoints at this time. If this security becomes an issue at any time in the future, the Bureau will be immediately notified and the source will be discontinued until such time as its security can be guaranteed.

As the Bureau is well aware, this source furnishes a magnitude of vital information pertaining to activities within Red China including its economical and industrial achievements. For instance, during the past six months, this source continued to furnish information relating to U.S. educated Chinese who have since returned to Red China and identified their current positions in their respective fields of science. This source also reveals the intimate feelings which these Chinese scientists have concerning life in China, as well as their pros and cons concerning life and science in general, while studying and residing in the U.S. A true picture of life in China today is also related by the information which this source furnishes reflecting life in general to be horrible due to the lack of proper food, housing, clothes, equipment, and the complete disregard of a human person's individual rights.

Source still continues to furnish up-to-date news on the former Korean prisoners of war (turncoats) and their true feelings, both pro-Chinese communist and anti-US, as well as their future plans. Source reveals the identity of their friends in the U.S., as well as the current activities and residences of these turncoats who have since returned from China (to the U.S.)

- 2 - Bureau (AM REG.)
- 1 - SF
- PJH/ljs
- (3)

REC-23

MAR 14 1960

~~SECRET~~

NAT. DEF. ...

Declassified by 1167  
10/19/75

Classified by 6283  
Exempt from GDS, Category 3  
Date of Declassification Indefinite

~~SECRET~~

LET TO SF  
4/17/60  
VER: prj: gnd: ljs

~~SECRET~~

Source has furnished complete subscription lists of various [Chinese] communist publications, including "China Reconstructs," "Peking Review," "China Literature" and other leading pro-Chinese communist publications which are published in Hong Kong, B.C.C. In this regard, source furnishes identities of those individuals residing in the U.S. who act as agents for these [Chinese] communist publications.

Source still continues to furnish up-to-date news concerning American citizens who have pro-[Chinese] communist sympathies residing on the Mainland of China. These Americans in some way are employed by the [Chinese Communist] Government and in particular, the source was able to locate the current whereabouts of one VIRGINIUS FRANK COE, New York espionage subject who has been missing since about 1956. This source continues to furnish pertinent information also relative to the activities and writings of ANNA LOUISE STRONG and her fight to have the U.S. recognize Red China.

This source continually furnishes the identities of many U.S. citizens who have violated the U.S. passport laws by having actually traveled to and throughout Red China.

Source continually identifies certain U.S. scientists who are on friendly terms with U.S. educated [Chinese] scientists who have since returned to China and at the same time, makes available certain requests which these [Chinese] scientists make of their scientific friends in the U.S. In certain instances, the Bureau has been able to develop potential double agents in the [Chinese] security field, because of these requests made by these [Chinese] scientists and in particular, San Francisco makes reference to the case of DR. Y.P. SUN, a research chemist for Shell Development Corporation, Modesto, California. It also assists in evaluating the reliability of double agents as in the case of RAYMOND TOM, who has been approached by representatives of the New China News Agency. In TOM's case, this source has been able to corroborate information which TOM has furnished the Bureau.

In the counterintelligence field, this source continues to monitor correspondence to one JAMES CHAO, who resides in Ann Arbor, Michigan, it being pointed out that CHAO was alleged to be an actual agent for the Bank of China, which is a [Chinese] communist front.

Considerable data has been uncovered concerning pro-[Chinese] communist sympathies on the part of U.S. Government employees, thus causing the field and the Bureau to initiate 140 SGE cases.

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~~SECRET~~

This source enables San Francisco to keep up with the current residences and employments of various San Francisco security and SI subjects and at the same time, source furnishes the viewpoints which these Subjects have concerning (Red China) as well as their anti-US statements which they have made.

Source has uncovered the whereabouts of a Selective Service subject of the San Francisco Division, namely (T'ONG King-yip) who recently graduated from the University of (Peking) after being missing from the San Francisco area for several years.

In other instances, this source has revealed several (Chinese) security subjects to be now residing (on the Mainland of China) and attending institutions of higher learning even though US passports for these individuals have not been issued.

Source has identified certain U.S. scientists who have traveled to (Moscow) as well as European countries, to attend various scientific conferences there. During these conferences, some of these U.S. scientists have become quite friendly with (Chinese) scientists and have initiated correspondence. Although some of these U.S. scientists have been contacted by the field relative to their willingness to cooperate in the double-agent field, San Francisco has no knowledge concerning the outcome.

Source still continues to furnish pertinent information relating to various [redacted] subjects which information has been disseminated. Many of the U.S. educated (Chinese) scientists have been approached by [redacted] to act as double agents by that [agency].

JFK Act 6 (1) (A)

Source continually shows the techniques and pressure put on (Chinese) scientists remaining in the U.S. in order to force them to return to (China) and work for the motherland. In this regard, source has given the U.S. valuable information concerning the advancement which the (Chinese) communists have made in certain scientific fields.

Source still continues to identify numerous U.S. citizens who are in contact with various (Hong Kong pro-Chinese) communist publishing firms.

It has also furnished correct (Chinese family) names, which reflect that (Chinese) individuals are residing in the U.S. fraudulently and has also furnished (coaching) papers for individuals to use. It has also furnished data as to how finances may be sent to (Communist China) through drops in (Hong Kong) and has also furnished information relative to the manner in which individuals are able to leave (Communist China) which has been of assistance in evaluating the stories which recent immigrants furnish during the course of interviews by Bureau agents.

~~SECRET~~

(SF 134-1132)  
FJH/lis

~~SECRET~~

Numerous potential security informants have been developed due to the type of information which this source has furnished in San Francisco.

Upon receipt of the translations of the (Chinese) material which is forwarded to the Bureau, as well as an evaluation made of the English language material, which is photostated, San Francisco furnishes to the other field divisions only that material which can be construed as having intelligence value. In many instances, San Francisco has knowledge concerning the identities of security subjects residing within other field divisions and furnishes pertinent data concerning these individuals. Numerous requests are made by certain (Chinese) scientists to forward to them certain technical books and publications in the scientific field which information is also furnished to other field divisions.

In the case of (Caucasians) traveling throughout (Red China,) who may possibly be U.S. citizens, this data is also furnished to other offices.

At this time, this source as a general rule has access to all mail emanating from (Hong Kong, B.C.C. and Communist China) destined for the U.S; however, on certain occasions, this source, due to the routing of mail by the Post Office from the Airport, sometimes misses certain mail bags.

For the Bureau's information, San Francisco processes approximately 13,500 first class letters a day not including third class publications. In this connection; however, it is noted that the processing must be done in a very limited time, two hours maximum. Furthermore, in view of the existing limitations, the quantity of material chosen for complete translation is necessarily limited to no more than 50 per day, some of which as further time permits for a closer scrutiny, is later disregarded and no further action taken, other than returning the material to the source.

~~SECRET~~

# Memorandum

Director, FBI (65-68088)

DATE: 2/5/64

SAC, Miami (65-2959) (P)

ICE SURVEY  
ESPIONAGE - CUBA  
(OO: Miami)

ReBulet 1/23/64.

For the Bureau's information, the average number of pieces of correspondence handled on a daily basis in captioned matter is set forth below under the categories covered:

- |    |                     |        |
|----|---------------------|--------|
| 1. | Miami to Cuba       | 15,500 |
| 2. | Puerto Rico to Cuba | 5,400  |
| 3. | Miami to Mexico     | 5,400  |

- 2 - Bureau (RM)
- 2 - Miami
- 1 - (65-2945 (Foxtrot))

JCR:agh  
(4)

*Handwritten:* 65-67951 (Foxtrot)

*Stamp:* FEB 11 1964

*Stamp:* FEB 8 1964

*Handwritten:* [Signature]



OFFICE OF THE DEPUTY ATTORNEY GENERAL  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20530

NOV 21 1975

TO: John A. Mintz, Assistant Director  
Legal Counsel Division  
Federal Bureau of Investigation

FROM: Michael E. Shaheen, Jr.  
Special Counsel for Intelligence  
Coordination

SUBJECT: Senate Select Committee Request

This memorandum confirms a telephone conversation I had with John Elliff yesterday, November 20, 1975, concerning the scope of Senator Church's request in his letter of November 11, 1975 (a copy of which is attached), in which he sought delivery of "legible, unexcised copies" of "the DeLoach memoranda of August 24-27, 1964 (concerning the 1964 Democratic Convention daily summaries from DeLoach to Walter Jenkins)"....

In that conversation Mr. Elliff advised that the Select Committee was now seeking the requested memoranda with the clear understanding and intention that the so-called "fruits" of all surveillances were to be included in response to that request.

Please prepare the requested materials for delivery.

cc: Paul Daly

1ST-110

REC-7 62-11639-1138

DEC 5 1975

*11/21/75*  
*In accordance with above instructions, John Elliff, SSC, this date was furnished with attached unexcised pages of enclosures furnished SSC by memorandum 11/11/75 in response to HSC request. TM*

*5 - Phil [Signature]*



ALL FBI INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 10/25/00 BY SP8 am/jmc  
MDR-16

FRANK CHURCH, IDAHO, CHAIRMAN  
JOHN G. TOWER, TEXAS, VICE CHAIRMAN

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FREDERICK A. O. SCHWARZ, JR., CHIEF COUNSEL  
CURTIS R. SMOTHERS, MINORITY COUNSEL

# United States Senate

SELECT COMMITTEE TO  
STUDY GOVERNMENTAL OPERATIONS WITH  
RESPECT TO INTELLIGENCE ACTIVITIES

(PURSUANT TO S. RES. 21, 94TH CONGRESS)

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510

November 11, 1975

Attorney General Edward H. Levi  
Room 5111  
Department of Justice  
Washington, D.C. 20530

Dear Mr. Attorney General:

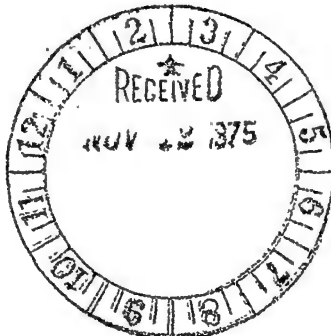
In my letter to you of August 28, 1975, concerning Committee document requests, I said that we did not want the DeLoach memoranda of August 24-27, 1964 (concerning the 1964 Democratic National Convention daily summaries from DeLoach to Walter Jenkins) at that time.

Because of the present posture of our investigation, I am now requesting delivery of legible, unexcised copies of these memoranda by Friday, November 14, 1975. I understand that the FBI has compiled and readied these documents for delivery and that the only delay in delivery concerns my sending this request to you, since it does relate to the August 28 request.

Sincerely,

*Frank Church*  
Frank Church  
Chairman

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 10/21/2007 BY SP8 SIM/MLF  
mor-16



RECEIVED  
OFFICE OF THE  
ATTORNEY GENERAL  
NOV 12 1975

42-116395-1108  
ENCLOSURE



DeLoach to Mohr  
RE: Special Squad, Atlantic City, New Jersey  
Democratic National Convention  
August 22-28, 1964

Monday, August 24, 1964

On Sunday morning, August 23, 1964, we located a truck on Pacific Avenue carrying a burned-out car, a huge burlap-wrapped cross and a large church bell. Rumors swept Atlantic City that the car was actually the one used by Schwerner, Goodman and Chaney. Shortly after its appearance this truck was placed on a parking lot close by Convention Hall. We quickly established the fraudulency of these rumors and through police contacts we thwarted the racial group's plans to parade this burned car through Atlantic City streets.

On Monday, we furnished Mr. Jenkins details regarding the plans of CORE, the American Nazi Party, the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee and initial plans of the MFDP.

Appropriate officials were notified of the intention of the Negro racial groups to establish a silent vigil on the boardwalk at the main entrance to Convention Hall. This vigil was to be maintained until a report was issued by the Credentials Committee regarding the seating of the MFDP delegates.

Tuesday, August 25, 1964

Jenkins was advised that Martin Luther King had prevailed upon Bayard Rustin to come to Atlantic City that day. We alerted White House representatives regarding compromise proposals for seating of the MFDP and furnished them information regarding plans of the Progressive Labor Movement groups, ACT and other dissident organizations. Martin Luther King attempted to arrange a rendezvous with a Mrs. Jackson of Philadelphia. Our sources reported that SNCC and CORE were attempting to secure tickets to gain entrance to Convention Hall. Through a highly confidential source, it was learned that CORE and SNCC had been advised that the President was bringing pressure to bear on the delegates of 15 states to preclude their support of a move to bring the Mississippi delegates issue to the floor of the Convention.

Wednesday, August 26, 1964

We submitted reports reflecting that the militant members of MFDP under the leadership of Robert Moses were revolting against the leadership of Martin Luther King and Aaron Henry. We advised Jenkins that the MFDP delegates had flatly rejected the compromise proposal to seat the MFDP delegation. We reported that

- 4 - CONTINUED-OVER

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MOR-16

DeLoach to Mohr

RE: Special Squad, Atlantic City, New Jersey

Democratic National Convention

August 22-28, 1964

Dick Gregory, through ACT, was attempting to promote a stall-in to block access to Convention Hall. One of our key informants was instructed by Gregory to plan this demonstration and through our control of him we were able to completely thwart Gregory. We also alerted the White House in advance regarding the telegram prepared by ACT demanding amnesty for Harlem rioters and for Federal registrars to police Negro voting in the South.

In consultation with Convention planners, we pointed out serious gaps in controlling admission to Convention Hall which had permitted entrance of dissident elements on the Convention floor. Jenkins immediately placed these recommendations into effect.

Thursday, August 27, 1964

We determined Martin Luther King and his staff were departing from Atlantic City early Thursday morning, and appropriate officials were advised of this. We also reported efforts of CORE-SNCC leaders to secure uniforms of the Young Citizens for Johnson groups and to utilize them for gaining entrance into Convention Hall. We were able to report that the number of participants of the silent vigil would dwindle rapidly. Although the demonstrations quieted down Thursday night, we were heavily involved in checking out the reports that a four-man group of Puerto Rican terrorists from New York were in Atlantic City in an attempt to assassinate the President.

MISCELLANEOUS:

For the benefit of the Domestic Intelligence and General Investigative Divisions, separate memoranda are being submitted regarding informant coverage. I am also recommending letters of appreciation to cooperative individuals whose efforts facilitated the squad's work in Atlantic City.

INFORMANT ACTIVITIES:

In connection with our Convention coverage, the special squad utilized the following sources:

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*OF*  
*AND INFORMANTS*

symbol number informants from other offices;  
confidential sources from other offices;  
liaison source from another office;

To: Mr. Walter Jenkins

August 24, 1964

From: C. D. De Loach

Subject: AFTERNOON SUMMARY OF ACTIVITIES,  
SUPPLEMENTARY REPORT,  
DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CONVENTION,  
ATLANTIC CITY, NEW JERSEY  
AUGUST 24, 1964

The following additional information regarding afternoon activities, August 24, 1964, is submitted for your information:

MARTIN LUTHER KING

A highly reliable source has informed us that Reverend King was scheduled to speak this afternoon before the Washington State celebrates at 4:30 p.m., but is attempting to postpone this commitment until 5:30 p.m.

STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

We have learned that Nathan and Ann Schwerner, parents of Mickey Schwerner, one of the three CORE workers killed in Mississippi, are driving from New York City today to Atlantic City. The Schwerners plan to participate in a demonstration tonight which is scheduled to be held at 8:30 p.m. on the boardwalk in front of Convention Hall. (The FBI is affording this demonstration close coverage.) In this same connection the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) radio network has requested to have its members gather on the boardwalk for this demonstration. This demonstration is being sponsored by SNCC, and both SNCC and CORE members have indicated the demonstration is being held in behalf of the Mississippi Democratic Freedom Party.

STUDENT PEACE UNION

Members of the Student Peace Union in New York City are distributing a newsletter today (August 24, 1964) in New York City which states that buses will depart New York for Atlantic City at 2 p.m. and 5 p.m. on Tuesday, August 25, 1964. The newsletter urges people to join members of the Student Peace Union and go to Atlantic City

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 10/24/2000 BY SP8/AM/UNT  
MDR-16

To: Mr. Walter Jenkins

August 25, 1964

From: C. D. DeLoach

Subject: MORNING SUMMARY OF ACTIVITIES,  
DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CONVENTION,  
ATLANTIC CITY, NEW JERSEY  
AUGUST 25, 1964

The following information is a summary of data which has come to our attention during last night and early this morning, August 25, 1964:

MARTIN LUTHER KING

A highly reliable source advised at midnight, last night, that Reverend King received a call from Bayard Rustin in New York City. King said that he was very encouraged by the way things were going; that there had been no demonstrations by the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party (MFDP) and none were expected from that source.

As you were previously advised, Rustin had indicated that he was not planning to come to Atlantic City; however, King requested last night that Rustin should come to the Convention and Rustin said that he would be down, and that he would arrive in Atlantic City sometime during the morning of August 25, 1964. King then told Rustin that there were enough minority votes to bring the seating of the MFDP to the floor of the Convention.

At 10:40 a.m., August 25, 1964, we were advised that Bayard Rustin was in Reverend King's suite in Atlantic City.

Rustin contacted Eleanor Holm of the MFDP at the Goa Hotel, and Rustin inquired whom Reverend King should talk to this morning. Eleanor Holm said she thought King should see Governor Edicott Pestody of Massachusetts, Mayor Robert Wagner of New York City, Governor Edmund G. (Pat) Brown of California, Mayor Richard Daley of Chicago and Governor John W. King of New Hampshire. The purpose of King's seeing these individuals is to urge them to call the White House directly and put pressure on the White House in behalf of the MFDP.

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DATE 10/24/2000 BY SP2 RNM/MLC

MAR-76

MORNING SUMMARY OF ACTIVITIES, DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CONVENTION,  
ATLANTIC CITY, NEW JERSEY, AUGUST 25, 1964

At this same time Andy Young from Reverend King's staff spoke to Eleanor Holm of the LDFP and told her that the LDFP delegates should not think in terms of being a minority but should regard themselves as the only representatives in Mississippi. Young then told Holm that, "Off the record, of course, you know we will accept the Green compromise proposed." This refers to the proposal of Congresswoman Edith Green of Oregon.

A Mary King of the Washington State Delegation then spoke to Mr. Andy Young of Reverend King's staff. Mary King apologized to Young because she was unable to get her group to come to the forefront for the LDFP. Andy Young commented that the Johnson Administration is putting pressure on everybody and that people who were previously friendly are getting harder to find.

20 RDWALK DEMONSTRATIONS

Approximately 120 demonstrators belonging to the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) and the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) spent all night on the boardwalk in front of Convention Hall. This was a silent vigil and there were no incidents.

RALLY SCHEDULED FOR TUESDAY NIGHT, AUGUST 25, 1964,  
8 P.M., PRICE MEMORIAL CHURCH, ATLANTIC CITY, N.J.

At last night's SNCC and CORE vigil outside Convention Hall handouts were being distributed announcing that a civil rights rally presenting Dick Gregory and Caleb Peterson would be held at Price Memorial A.M.E. Church, 525 Atlantic Avenue, at 8 p.m. Coverage of this rally has been arranged.

PROGRESSIVE LABOR MOVEMENT

We have been informed by reliable New York sources that a group of Progressive Labor Movement (PLM) members is traveling to Atlantic City on Wednesday, August 26, 1964. Self-christed Communist Party (CP) member Edward Lemansky is heading this group. Lemansky was the leader of the student group which spent this past summer in Cuba defying the State Department ban.

AFTERNOON SUMMARY OF ACTIVITY, DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CONVENTION,  
ATLANTIC CITY, NEW JERSEY, AUGUST 25, 1964

REVEREND MARTIN LUTHER KING

A highly reliable source advised that Donald Lee of the Reverend Martin Luther King's staff was attempting without success to obtain another room at the Claridge Hotel in order that the Reverend King could get some "peace and quiet." Unable to obtain another room, Lee contacted a Mrs. Jackson of the Philadelphia, Pennsylvania area, who appeared quite upset because "arrangements" had not been made and because Mrs. King was in Atlantic City. Mrs. Jackson told Lee that she would, nevertheless, drive to Atlantic City and obtain a hotel room along the "pike area." She said she would then communicate with Lee using the name Mrs. Wallace in order that she would not be identified, and that maybe Reverend King might be able to get away in view of all of the caucuses, and so forth, he has to attend.

Shortly before 4 p.m. this afternoon, August 25, 1964, John Sutton of the California Delegation asked King to meet with the California delegates at 7 p.m., August 25, 1964. Previously King agreed to meet with the New York State delegates at 7:30 p.m. tonight.

AFDP leaders have asked Reverend King to call Governor Ryan of Alaska and Governor Burns of Hawaii in an attempt to enlist their support. According to the AFDP spokesman, the Negro Mississippi Party needs these two states plus California and New York for the roll call tonight.

Source:  ELSUR

SYMPATHETIC PICKETING

FBI sources report that CORE has been undertaking picketing in several cities urging support for the AFDP. A group of 25 demonstrators in Chicago, for example, picketed the Morrison Hotel urging that the Illinois Delegation support the Negro Mississippi delegates. Similar picketing was conducted by CORE in St. Louis yesterday.

STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

At 1:30 today the FBI office at Jackson, Mississippi, reported that eight Mississippi summer workers left Mississippi today headed for Atlantic City.

ROUGH SUMMARY OF ACTIVITIES, DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CONVENTION,  
ATLANTIC CITY, NEW JERSEY, AUGUST 26, 1964

(In view of its urgency, a resume of the following  
data was furnished you orally this morning at 11:15 a.m.)

Dick Gregory contacted Reverend King at 10:45 a.m., August 26, 1964, at which time King asked Gregory what he thought of last night. Gregory commented that he wished there would have been a floor fight in which King replied that would have been impossible and explained to Gregory the Convention procedures. Gregory commented that he has been purposely kept out of the situation but that he has been kept on top of things through a guy named Flanagan (phonetic) whom Gregory said was close to the President. Gregory commented that he told Flanagan that he could get the ADP to go some provided the President would guarantee there would be Federal referees in the South in November to insure that Negroes could vote.

Gregory said that in effect the ADP will have to go home and that he now plans on some direct action. Gregory said he sent a telegram to the President asking for amnesty for all civil rights workers who have been arrested and for Federal referees during the election in the South. Gregory stated that he was going to have a still-in this afternoon en route to Convention Hall. He has been making a survey and finds that people drive part way to the Convention and then walk the remaining distance. He intends to have a few people drive automobiles and block routes to Convention Hall, explaining that he only needs a few cars to block P. O. Civic Avenue in view of its condition. Gregory further stated that he is going to keep the bulk of his forces until tomorrow, since the drivers of the vehicles will probably be arrested, when the President arrives in the city. He did not indicate what he intended to do tomorrow.

King then tried to reason with Gregory explaining that when Barry Goldwater was nominated the political complexion of the country changed. A coalition of racists and the extreme reactionary conservatives of the North could put Goldwater into office. Therefore, all the gains of the Negroes and the social legislation of recent years would go down the drain. Gregory stated, "Well, I don't

MORNING STORIES OF ACTIVITIES, PROGRESSIVE NATIONAL CONVENTION,  
ATLANTIC CITY, NEW JERSEY, AUGUST 26, 1964

"give a God damn if Goldwater is elected because if he is, America deserves him."

Gregory sounded like he would like to see Goldwater elected because if he was, then it would create all kinds of trouble involving the races. Gregory then stated, "There is a thin line that keeps J. Edgar Hoover off the backs of Negroes. When Hoover said there were communists in the civil rights movement, I sent him a telegram and asked for names. If there are communists in the civil rights movement, they are white communists and not Negro, and Hoover is trying to make like all Negroes are communists."

Gregory added that if some of these wrongs are not righted, he is going to announce Martin Luther King for President and ask all the Negroes in the country to vote for him. He was emphatic that he was going to do this and told King that he was the greatest thing that ever happened to the Negroes and that King was a Negro leader who got some bad names into the people to get them moving in the civil rights effort.

Discussion of a Vice-Presidential nominee came up and King asked what Gregory thought of Hugh Humphrey, and Gregory said Hugh Humphrey is not going to get it, that Johnson needs a Catholic to go into the ghettos where Johnson will not journey and, therefore, the Vice-President will be Lunkie of Laiss. Gregory said that this is all a part of the so-called white backlash.

King indicated that he was going to be in town today because he asked Gregory where he was performing, and how he would get to the club and if he could get there in a taxi and told Gregory he might drop by tonight and catch a performance.

STILL-IN SCHEDULED FOR LATE AFTERNOON, AUGUST 26, 1964

A reliable source of the Federal Bureau of Investigation is involved with assisting in the formulation of the still-in plans, and we will keep you closely advised regarding all developments in this connection.



MORNING AND EARLY AFTERNOON SUMMARY OF ACTIVITIES,  
SUPPLEMENTARY REPORT, DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CONVENTION,  
ATLANTIC CITY, NEW JERSEY, AUGUST 26, 1964

press credentials, to get into Convention Hall last night.

It was also disclosed that they are going to be watching to find out whether the staff of the Sergeant-at-Arms will be checking badge numbers with the names printed on the badges and they are going to be sure that the gatekeepers are not discriminating against Negroes. If such discrimination takes place, they plan to make a strong protest and demand that Convention officials check every individual's badge as they enter the hall.

Sometime this afternoon, Jim Farmer, Aaron Henry, et al, plan to make some sort of public announcement regarding their intentions but they were vague as to details.

Source: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ CONF SOURCE

MARTIN LUTHER KING - BAYARD RUSTIN

Shortly after noon Bayard Rustin talked to a man who was trying to get in touch with Martin Luther King. This man wanted King to talk to AFDP delegates at the Union Temple Baptist Church at 1 p.m., this afternoon. Congresswoman Green is supposed to make a talk there and Jim Farmer, Mr. Foreman, Jack Pratt, and a representative of the National Council of Churches are scheduled to be present.

According to the man who talked to Bayard Rustin, the AFDP delegates are standing on their decision to reject the findings of the Credentials Committee. The delegates want guidance from King.

Bayard Rustin promised that Reverend King would be at this meeting.

Rustin then spoke to a representative of the National Council of Churches and said that according to Hubert Humprey, if the two delegates and two alternates of the AFDP (Henry and King) would come to Convention Hall tonight, they would be seated and the remainder of the AFDP would be seated elsewhere as a group on the floor. In a subsequent conversation Rustin was told that the AFDP delegates and alternates/so seated in the  
would

MORNING AND EARLY AFTERNOON SUMMARY OF ACTIVITIES,  
SUPPLEMENTARY REPORT, DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CONVENTION,  
ATLANTIC CITY, NEW JERSEY, AUGUST 26, 1964

Mississippi section and the remainder of the group elsewhere on the floor.

Regarding street demonstrations Rustin was queried as to whether there would be street demonstrations today. Rustin said that two-thirds of the "books" would drop out but this is all he can guarantee.

Source: ~~██████████~~ ELSUR

CONVENTION HALL DEMONSTRATION

According to a reliable source, it was reported that Young Democrats for Johnson were inside the barricade demonstrating near Convention Hall. A CORE-SNCC walkie-talkie unit asked their headquarters whether CORE-SNCC demonstrators should have people join the Young Democrats for Johnson and try to get in the hall with them.

At approximately 1 p.m., today, the CORE headquarters radio instructed SNCC-CORE members to infiltrate the Young Democrats for Johnson group and utilize this technique in an attempt to get into Convention Hall.

Shortly after 1 p.m. a man by the name of Cooper at SNCC-CORE headquarters said that he had access to fifteen uniforms of the Young Democrats for Johnson.

A few minutes later the SNCC-CORE radio requested that ten neatly-dressed demonstrators be sent to CORE headquarters for "special assignment."

Source: ~~██████████~~ ELSUR

PLANNED ST 11-13, LATE AFTERNOON, AUGUST 26, 1964

As you were informed this morning, we learned through a reliable source that Dick Gregory, speaking for ACT, was planning a stall-in to block traffic to Convention Hall. We noted earlier that one of our informants was to assist in the formulation of plans for the stall-in. Our informant has now reported that he was able to control the situation, and that it was agreed that ACT would not try to use cars to block the streets near Convention Hall, but that teams of three or four demonstrators would sit or lie down at the intersections of Pacific and Illinois, Pacific and Michigan, Pacific and Arkansas, and Pacific and Florida. Our source is trying

# Memorandum

TO : Edward W. Scott, Jr.  
Acting Assistant Attorney General  
for Administration

DATE: 18 Mar 1975

FROM : Mary C. Lawton  
Deputy Assistant Attorney General  
Office of Legal Counsel

SUBJECT: IDIS System of Records

*Sen Study*

16  
You are probably right that it is illegal to maintain these records under the Privacy Act as indicated in your memo of November 7, 1975. Doug Marvin is right that the Senate has requested us to keep them as suggested in his memo of November 11, 1975. Congress obviously is wrong in its contrary instructions on the subject. Why don't we deposit them bodily in the respective laps of Scott and Mansfield and let them make up their minds, if any?

- (1) - Deputy Attorney General
- (1) - Togo D. West, Jr., Associate Deputy Attorney General
- (1) - Clarence M. Kelley, Director, FBI ✓
- (1) - Antonin Scalia, Assistant Attorney General, OLC

62-116395

NOT RECORDED  
170 MAR 5 1976

ENCLOSURE

MAR 1 1976

62-55047-223

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DATE 10/25/00 BY SP2 SIM/lmf

MDR-16

*[Signature]*

59 MAR 11 1976

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : Edward W. Scott, Jr.  
Acting Assistant Attorney General  
for Administration

DATE: November 1975

FROM : Douglas R. Marvin  
Counsellor to the Attorney General

SUBJECT: Inter-Divisional Information System of Records (IDIS)

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Dep.-A.D.-Inv.	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
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Admin.	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Comp. Syst.	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Ext. Affairs	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Files & Com.	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
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Ident.	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
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Laboratory	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Plan. & Eval.	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Spec. Inv.	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Training	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Off. of Cong. & Public Affairs	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Telephone Rm.	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Director Sec'y	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>

In response to your memorandum of November 7th in which you propose to destroy the Inter-Divisional Information System Records, I should point out that we have received a letter from Senators Mansfield and Scott requesting that no documents of the Department be destroyed until the investigation by the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence Activities is concluded. Therefore, whatever the merits of your proposal, I believe that we are constrained from taking the action you propose.

- (1) - Deputy Attorney General
- (1) - Togo D. West, Jr., Associate Deputy Attorney General
- ① - Clarence M. Kelley, Director, FBI
- (1) - Antonin Scalia, Assistant Attorney General, OLC
- (1) - Mary C. Lawton, Deputy Assistant Attorney General, OLC

EX-116-30

ENCLOSURE  
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*[Handwritten signature]*

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62-55047-2201  
ORIGINAL FILED IN

To: The Attorney General

November 19, 1975

From: Director, FBI

REC-7

62-116395-1137

U. S. SENATE SELECT COMMITTEE  
ON INTELLIGENCE ACTIVITIES (SSC)

Reference is made to letter of SSC Chairman Senator Frank Church to The Attorney General, dated November 11, 1975, which requested C. D. DeLoach memoranda concerning the 1964 Democratic National Convention (DNC).

Enclosed for your approval and forwarding to the SSC is an original of a memorandum in response to the request in referenced letter. It is noted that in a letter dated August 28, 1975, Senator Church advised the SSC did not want the DeLoach memoranda. In referenced letter Senator Church indicates that because of the present posture of the SSC investigation, delivery of these memoranda is now requested.

Enclosures (2)

62-116395

- 1 - The Deputy Attorney General  
Attention: Michael E. Shaheen, Jr.  
Special Counsel for  
Intelligence Coordination

JTA:adn adn  
(9)

NOTE:

A copy of the SSC letter dated 11/11/75 is attached to the file copy of enclosed letterhead memorandum. Exact copies of the materials being furnished are maintained in the office of the SENSTUDY 75 Project. Arrangements have been made for a representative of the Legal Counsel Division to deliver the attached memorandum as well as the materials being provided to the SSC.

- Assoc. Dir. \_\_\_\_\_
- Dep. AD Adm. \_\_\_\_\_
- Dep. AD Inv. \_\_\_\_\_
- Asst. Dir.:
- Admin. \_\_\_\_\_
- Comp. Syst. \_\_\_\_\_
- Ext. Affairs \_\_\_\_\_
- Files & Com. \_\_\_\_\_
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- Director Sec'y \_\_\_\_\_

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- 2 - Mr. J. A. Mintz  
(1 - J. B. Hotis)
- 1 - Mr. W. R. Wannall
- 1 - Mr. W. O. Cregar
- 1 - Mr. J. T. Aldhizer

62-116395

November 19, 1975

**U. S. SENATE SELECT COMMITTEE TO  
STUDY GOVERNMENTAL OPERATIONS WITH  
RESPECT TO INTELLIGENCE ACTIVITIES (SSC)**

Reference is made to letter of SSC Chairman Senator Frank Church to the Attorney General dated November 11, 1975, which requested the DeLoach memoranda concerning the 1964 Democratic National Convention (DNC).

Being delivered with this memorandum in response to referenced letter is a copy of the C. D. DeLoach memorandum to Mr. Mohr dated August 29, 1964, captioned "Special Squad, Atlantic City, New Jersey, Democratic National Convention, August 22-August 28, 1964," and its enclosures which represent 1964 DNC daily summaries submitted at that time to White House Aide, Mr. Walter Jenkins.

With respect to the excisions in materials being delivered herewith, where no notation appears as to reason for excision, the excision was made for the reason that the information actually summarizes or quotes from conversations monitored during electronic surveillances of Martin Luther King, Jr. In some cases, it can be ascertained precisely what information in FBI files came from electronic surveillances of King; however, there exist areas where documentation of the information is not precise and no accurate determination can be made. Therefore, no assurances can be given that portions of the materials being furnished do not contain information developed as a result of electronic surveillances of King.

- Assoc. Dir. \_\_\_\_\_ 1 - The Attorney General
- Dep. AD Adm. \_\_\_\_\_
- Dep. AD Inv. \_\_\_\_\_
- Asst. Dir.: \_\_\_\_\_
- Admin. \_\_\_\_\_
- Comp. Syst. \_\_\_\_\_
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- Telephone Rm. \_\_\_\_\_
- Director Sec'y \_\_\_\_\_

JTA:adm  
(8)

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DATE 10/24/2000 BY SP2AM/inf  
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*JBA*  
*Per*

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*WOC*

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*This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Committee. Its use is limited to official proceedings by your Committee and the content may not be disclosed to unauthorized personnel without the express approval of the FBI.*

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SSC LETTER 11-11-75

RETAIN

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DATE 10/29/00 BY SEA/um/lmf  
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UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

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Belmont	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Mohr	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Casper	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Callahan	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Conrad	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
DeLoach	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Evans	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Gale	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Rosen	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Sullivan	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Tavel	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Trotter	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Tele. Room	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Holmes	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Gandy	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>

TO : Mr. Mohr

DATE: August 29, 1964

FROM : C. D. DeLoach

SUBJECT: SPECIAL SQUAD  
ATLANTIC CITY, NEW JERSEY  
DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CONVENTION  
AUGUST 22 - AUGUST 28, 1964

*RAM*  
*DeLoach*

MAJOR ACCOMPLISHMENTS:

*DeLoach, Carter, D.*

In connection with the assignment of the special squad to Atlantic City, New Jersey, 8/22-28/64 at the direction of the President, I wish to report the successful completion of this assignment. By means of informant coverage, by use of various confidential techniques, by infiltration of key groups through use of undercover agents, and through utilization of agents using appropriate cover as reporters, we were able to keep the White House fully apprised of all major developments during the Convention course.

For example, through informant coverage and by controlling the situation, we were able to prevent a potentially explosive stall-in and sit-in demonstration planned by ACT and Dick Gregory. By counseling Messrs. Jenkins, Carter and Moyers, we convinced them that they must make major changes in controlling admissions into the Convention Hall and thereby preclude infiltration of the illegal Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party (MFDP) delegates in large numbers into the space reserved for the regular Mississippi delegates. Through our counterintelligence efforts, Jenkins, et al., were able to advise the President in advance regarding major plans of the MFDP delegates. The White House considered this of prime importance.

Through our highly confidential coverage of Martin Luther King and Bayard Rustin, together with similar coverage we established on the headquarters of CORE-SNCC, we were in a position to advise the White House in advance of all plans made by these two sources in an effort to disrupt the orderly progress of the Convention. This coverage was highly effective.

COVERAGE HIGHLIGHTS:

I feel this squad operated very effectively. Squad members averaged in excess of eight hours overtime daily. They approached each assignment as a

- Enclosure
- |                  |               |
|------------------|---------------|
| 1 - Mr. Belmont  | 1 - Mr. Tavel |
| 1 - Mr. Rosen    | 1 - Mr. Jones |
| 1 - Mr. Sullivan |               |
| 1 - Mr. Evans    |               |
- CDD:dgs (8)

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Searched \_\_\_\_\_  
INDEXED \_\_\_\_\_  
OCT 5 1964

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DATE 10/24/00 BY SPdAm/VAF  
MAR-16

CONTINUED-OVER

*5 Xerox copies made by the Thomas and for W.O. Brown 6-9-75*

*3. M*

This document is prepared in response to your request and its use is limited to official proceedings by you, your Committee and the contact. It may not be disseminated to any other person without the express approval of the FBI.



DeLoach to Mohr  
RE: Special Squad, Atlantic City, New Jersey  
Democratic National Convention  
August 22-28, 1964

challenge and with enthusiasm. The Agents were constantly alert to exploit opportunities for penetration of key dissident groups in Atlantic City and to suggest counter measures for any plans to disrupt the Convention.

Our informant coverage worked particularly well. With Bureau approval, I instituted coverage similar to that on King and Rustin on CORE-SNCC headquarters at their Atlantic Avenue meeting hall. Our Negro undercover agents successfully penetrated the headquarters of the MFPD delegation at the Gem Motel and the headquarters for their strategy meetings, which was located in the basement of the Union Baptist Temple Church.

Additionally, we utilized a highly successful cover through cooperation of the National Broadcasting Company (NBC). Robert Northshield, manager of news for NBC and a long-time, well-established contact of my office, furnished us NBC credentials. I selected several of the members of the squad to utilize this cover. As an example, one of our "reporters" was able to gain the confidence of Aaron Henry, Robert Moses, James Farmer, Dick Gregory and Jesse Gray, the notorious Harlem riot leader. Our "reporter" was so successful, in fact, that Henry was giving him "off the record information" for background purposes, which he requested our "reporter" not to print.

One of our Negro undercover agents successfully established contact with Dick Gregory Saturday night, August 22nd, and maintained this relationship throughout the course of the entire Convention. By midweek, he had become one of Gregory's confidants. This, of course, proved to be a highly valuable source of intelligence since Gregory was constantly trying to incite racial groups to violence.

#### DISSEMINATION OF INFORMATION:

During our Convention coverage, we disseminated 44 pages of intelligence data to Walter Jenkins. Attached for your information is a copy of these daily summaries. Additionally, I kept Jenkins and Moyers constantly advised by telephone of minute by minute developments. This enabled them to make spot decisions and to adjust Convention plans to meet potential problems before serious trouble developed.

In connection with communications, as you know, we arranged for a leased line between the Bureau and our control post in Atlantic City. We also established a private line for exclusive use by our informants. Appropriate code names were arranged and informants dispatched from other cities and Newark informants used this phone to submit their oral reports. This post was, of course, manned on a 24-hour basis.

DeLoach to Mohr

RE: Special Squad, Atlantic City, New Jersey  
Democratic National Convention  
August 22-28, 1964

During the period when the Convention was actually in progress, we established a secondary command post at the Convention Hall Rotunda operated by an Agent using his "reporter" cover. As you know, the boardwalk was the center of agitation by dissident elements. Throughout the course of the Convention, pickets were active in the area immediately in front of the Convention Hall entrance. We necessarily kept these people under close observation.

PRELIMINARY PREPARATION:

Prior to the squad's departure for Atlantic City, we secured all available pertinent background information on the dissident groups and their leaders who were expected to be present. In addition, we took blind memoranda with us which were prepared and approved prior to our departure. This proved most helpful. On Wednesday morning, Mr. Jenkins urgently requested background information on Robert Moses, COFO leader who had emerged as the leader of the militant group within the MFDP delegation. The White House also requested a blind memorandum on Dr. Aaron Henry, Chairman of this group. Within 15 minutes of the request, the desired blind memoranda were furnished to Jenkins. He was highly pleased and said this was of vital importance to their operation. (Henry as you will recall has an arrest record for perversion.)

We also prepared thumbnail sketches on all key dissident groups expected at the Convention and we maintained separate files on the activities of King, Communist Party groups, area hoodlums, informants, the MFDP and other groups. This was done in order that we could maintain separate running accounts on each major disruptive organization which was present.

LIAISON:

On arrival in Atlantic City we immediately established necessary liaison with the Secret Service, Atlantic City Police Department, New Jersey State Highway Patrol and with the men directing Convention activities. We also established contacts with Allegheny Airlines to arrange for courier service between the Seat of Government and our headquarters in Atlantic City.

DAILY COUNTER MEASURES BY SPECIAL SQUAD:

As an example of the type of problems encountered by this special squad in Atlantic City, following is a brief resume of some of the situations which developed during the Convention:

DeLoach to Mohr  
RE: Special Squad, Atlantic City, New Jersey  
Democratic National Convention  
August 22-28, 1964

Monday, August 24, 1964

On Sunday morning, August 23, 1964, we located a truck on Pacific Avenue carrying a burned-out car, a huge burlap-wrapped cross and a large church bell. Rumors swept Atlantic City that the car was actually the one used by Schwerner, Goodman and Chaney. Shortly after its appearance this truck was placed on a parking lot close by Convention Hall. We quickly established the fraudulency of these rumors and through police contacts we thwarted the racial group's plans to parade this burned car through Atlantic City streets.

On Monday, we furnished Mr. Jenkins details regarding the plans of CORE, the American Nazi Party, the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee and initial plans of the MFDP.

Appropriate officials were notified of the intention of the Negro racial groups to establish a silent vigil on the boardwalk at the main entrance to Convention Hall. This vigil was to be maintained until a report was issued by the Credentials Committee regarding the seating of the MFDP delegates.

Tuesday, August 25, 1964

Jenkins was advised that Martin Luther King had prevailed upon Bayard Rustin to come to Atlantic City that day. We alerted White House representatives regarding compromise proposals for seating of the MFDP and furnished them information regarding plans of the Progressive Labor Movement groups, ACT and other dissident organizations. Martin Luther King attempted to arrange a rendezvous with a Mrs. Jackson of Philadelphia. Our sources reported that SNCC and CORE were attempting to secure tickets to gain entrance to Convention Hall. Through a highly confidential source, it was learned that CORE and SNCC had been advised that the President was bringing pressure to bear on the delegates of 15 states to preclude their support of a move to bring the Mississippi delegates issue to the floor of the Convention.

Wednesday, August 26, 1964

We submitted reports reflecting that the militant members of MFDP under the leadership of Robert Moses were revolting against the leadership of Martin Luther King and Aaron Henry. We advised Jenkins that the MFDP delegates had flatly rejected the compromise proposal to seat the MFDP delegation. We reported that

DeLoach to Mohr

RE: Special Squad, Atlantic City, New Jersey  
Democratic National Convention  
August 22-28, 1964

Dick Gregory, through ACT, was attempting to promote a stall-in to block access to Convention Hall. One of our key informants was instructed by Gregory to plan this demonstration and through our control of him we were able to completely thwart Gregory. We also alerted the White House in advance regarding the telegram prepared by ACT demanding amnesty for Harlem rioters and for Federal registrars to police Negro voting in the South.

In consultation with Convention planners, we pointed out serious gaps in controlling admission to Convention Hall which had permitted entrance of dissident elements on the Convention floor. Jenkins immediately placed these recommendations into effect.

Thursday, August 27, 1964

~~We determined Martin Luther King and his staff were departing from Atlantic City early Thursday morning, and appropriate officials were advised of this.~~  
We also reported efforts of CORE-SNCC leaders to secure uniforms of the Young Citizens for Johnson groups and to utilize them for gaining entrance into Convention Hall. We were able to report that the number of participants of the silent vigil would dwindle rapidly. Although the demonstrations quieted down Thursday night, we were heavily involved in checking out the reports that a four-man group of Puerto Rican terrorists from New York were in Atlantic City in an attempt to assassinate the President.

MISCELLANEOUS:

For the benefit of the Domestic Intelligence and General Investigative Divisions, separate memoranda are being submitted regarding informant coverage. I am also recommending letters of appreciation to cooperative individuals whose efforts facilitated the squad's work in Atlantic City.

INFORMANT ACTIVITIES:

In connection with our Convention coverage, the special squad utilized the following sources:

- NUMBER of  
CONFIDENTIAL  
AND  
LIAISON*
- 10 symbol number informants from other offices;
  - 2 confidential sources from other offices;
  - 1 liaison source from another office;

DeLoach to Mohr

RE: Special Squad, Atlantic City, New Jersey  
Democratic National Convention  
August 22-28, 1964

- NEWARK  
CORE  
SOURCES  
AND  
INFORMANTS*
- 2 technical sources
  - 2 special agents working in an undercover capacity
  - 41 Negro informants (Newark informants not from out of town)
  - 18 established sources in the Atlantic City area
  - 1 Atlantic City NOI informant
  - 2 Atlantic City Security informants

Our source from Washington, Hobson, was in the inner planning circles of ACT. Another source brought the Progressive Labor Movement delegates to Atlantic City. Although the organization was inactive, we had sources in the Muslim groups. A Newark informant served as chauffeur for leaders of SNCC-CORE.

ORGANIZATIONS IN ATLANTIC CITY:

There was coverage on 15 separate organizations who were active in Atlantic City during the course of the Convention. The leading groups included:

- Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party (MFDP)
- Council of Federated Organizations (COFO)
- Congress of Racial Equality (CORE)
- Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC)
- ACT
- Independent Citizens Committee
- American Nazi Party
- White Party of America
- W. E. B. Du Bois Clubs
- Communist Party, USA
- Women's International League for Peace and Freedom
- The Progressive Labor Movement

RECOMMENDATIONS:

(1) The majority of the following personnel averaged over eight hours per day during the five days the special squad was handling its responsibilities. They operated in a very competent fashion and it is, therefore, recommended that letters of commendation over the Director's signature be considered for them. If approved, these letters will be prepared by the Administrative Division. (A separate memorandum is

DeLoach to Mohr

RE: Special Squad, Atlantic City, New Jersey  
Democratic National Convention  
August 22-28, 1964

being furnished the Administrative Division regarding the specific duties handled by these employees.)

SA Harold P. Leinbaugh ✓  
SA Donald G. Hanning ✓  
SA Hobson H. Adcock ✓  
SA Elmer Todd ✓  
SA Thomas G. Buttle ✓  
SA Leo T. Clark ✓  
SA William P. George ✓  
SA Ben D. Hale ✓  
SA Harry D. Jones ✓  
SA John B. Meade ✓  
SA Lloyd A. Nelson ✓  
SA Robert L. Tagg ✓  
SA John M. Cary ✓  
SA William P. Crawford ✓  
Mary Ann Massa (Stenographer)  
Marjorie Ann Mierzejewski (Stenographer)

*SA Billie D. Williams  
belongs in 1st cat. very  
as worked full time on  
Special Squad & performed  
outstanding duties  
RPL*

*Done 7/1/64  
H.W.*

(2) A number of the following employees had only minor duties inasmuch as they were not used full-time on the special squad, however, in view of the quiet and efficient manner in which they handled their responsibilities, letters are believed deserved.

John P. Devlin  
Billie D. Williams  
John J. Connolly  
John J. Creamer, Jr.  
John J. Quinn  
Donald E. Alman  
Gus M. Moore  
John C. Cox  
Howard J. Wilson  
James F. Snider  
Russell H. Horner

DeLoach to Mohr

RE: Special Squad, Atlantic City, New Jersey  
Democratic National Convention  
August 22-28, 1964

*gen'l letter to SAC, NK - 9/1/64*

Oliver A. Chalifoux  
Dale R. Sutton  
William L. Dwyer, Jr.

(3) It is recommended that letters from the Director be given to the following personnel who assisted materially in the success of this operation:  
Mr. James Kastner, District Manager, Allegheny Airlines, Inc., Washington National Airport, Alexandria, Virginia. Mr. Kastner made the facilities of his company available for courier service between Seat of Government and Atlantic City. Over six separate packages of valuable material were delivered through use of this company. The letter to Mr. Kastner should personally mention the assistance of the following Stewardesses: Joan Deter, Lorraine Lemieux, Susan Melville, Harriet Edinger and Margaret Michalczyk.

*CONF SOURCE*

Mr. Robert Northshield, Manager of News, National Broadcasting Company, New York, New York. Mr. Northshield furnished us NBC credentials on a highly confidential basis. Additionally, we recommend letters to the head of the Bell Telephone Company, Atlantic City, whose men worked all night preparing our installation and to the Air Force Reserve Unit, Atlantic City, whose space we utilized. These letters will be prepared by the Crime Records Division if approved.

*CONF SOURCES*

*BEING HANDLED SEPARATELY BY CRIME RECORDS -*

*D*  
*DeLoach should receive a meritorious award.*

*Mr. DeLoach  
9/1/64*

To: Mr. Walter Jenkins

August 24, 1964

From: C. D. De Loach

Subject: SUMMARY OF ACTIVITIES,  
DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CONVENTION,  
ATLANTIC CITY, NEW JERSEY  
AUGUST 23, 1964

The following is a condensed summation of activities which have come to our attention as a result of the coverage which we have instituted in Atlantic City. This memorandum concerns activities during the past 24 hours.

MARTIN LUTHER KING

During a press conference on the afternoon of August 23, 1964, Martin Luther King urged that the Credentials Committee seat the Mississippi Democratic Freedom Party (MDFP). King added that if this group was not seated, they would still support the President and come back four years later and seat the Freedom Party.

As I advised you orally shortly after 6 p.m., August 23, 1964, a highly reliable informant advised that King and Bob Moses were in the process of drafting a telegram to President Johnson. According to our informant, King and Moses did not wish to offend the President, but they did want to register a mild protest. According to King, the President pledged complete neutrality regarding the selecting of the proper Mississippi delegation to be seated at the convention. King feels that the Credentials Committee will turn down the Mississippi Freedom Party and that they are doing this because the President exerted pressure on the committee along this line. The MDFP wanted to get the issue before the full convention but because of the President's actions, this will be impossible. Therefore, King and Moses are taking the position the President violated his pledge of complete neutrality.

*This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Committee. Its use is limited to official proceedings by your Committee and the content may not be disclosed to unauthorized personnel without the express approval of the FBI.*

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 10/27/2002 BY SP2 DMM/lmf

MOR-ju



SUMMARY OF ACTIVITIES, DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CONVENTION,  
ATLANTIC CITY, N.J., 8/23/64

DICK GREGORY

A highly reliable informant, who is in a position to know, advised that a group of about twelve members of the MDP attended the performance of Negro comedian Dick Gregory at the Basin Street Club, North Illinois Avenue, Atlantic City, New Jersey, on the night of August 22, 1964. All but two of this group were Negroes but there was one white female and one white male in this group. Gregory's routine consisted of a monologue which was very critical of the FBI. The informant stated the audience was not receptive to Gregory's humor although the MDP appeared to be amused by his remarks.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ UNCLASSIFIED FBI OPERATIONS

In the early morning hours of August 23, 1964, an informant, who has furnished reliable information in the past, spent the time until daylight with Dick Gregory and two other individuals. Included in the party was one Evelyn Jennings, whom the informant believed to be a call girl. The group went to the Wender Bar where they met one Bill Washington of Los Angeles, California, a member of the California Delegation. Washington appeared to know Gregory. Later John Lissinger (ph) from New York inquired of an elderly white man to join the white party if there were going to be any demonstrations. The white man said he did not know but there had been a meeting at 10:30 p.m., August 22, 1964, but he had not attended. The white man did state that a group of professional pickets was being brought in from Chicago to provide demonstrations. He said these demonstrators were trained to avoid violence. The informant believed the elderly white man spent the night with Evelyn Jennings, who is staying in room 222, Richfield-Boscobel Motor Hotel, 125 Kentucky Avenue, Atlantic City.

CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY (CORE)

Early Sunday morning, August 23, 1964, a truck appeared on the streets of Atlantic City with a burned-out car on it. It was set up like a float for a parade with a huge burlap wrapped cross mounted in front of the car and a large bell mounted on the vehicle's roof. This was allegedly the burned-out automobile of the three murdered youths in Mississippi.

Late in the afternoon the truck was placed in a Pacific Avenue parking lot close by Convention Hall.

STATEMENT OF ACTIVITIES, DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CONVENTION,  
ATLANTIC CITY, N.J., 8/29/64

Shortly afterwards word was put out on a CORE citizens band that people were missing the significance of this display and a call was issued for someone to report to the parking lot for the purpose of passing out leaflets.

In respect to the CORE band, mentioned above, it has been ascertained that CORE is using four mobile units as well as two walkie-talkies for organizational purposes in Atlantic City.

It has also been ascertained that the burned-out car is a fraud and is not the one actually used by the three slain youths in Mississippi.

It has been determined that the truck is a rental unit which belongs to Hertz. It was leased on August 20, 1964, at approximately 3:30 p.m. by an individual who identified himself as John Smith, 457 Emory Circle, Atlanta, Georgia. He left \$100 deposit and alleged he wanted the truck for the purpose of hauling material for about one week. Smith was described as a white male, approximately 35 years of age, slender build, 5' 9", 180 lbs., black hair and poorly dressed. The informant also advised that he had learned that Val Coleman and James Burke of CORE appeared to be the individuals in charge of this truck and its burned vehicle. These two have been in close contact with Dick Gregory since their arrival in Atlantic City.

CONGRESSMAN ADAM CLAYTON POWELL

An informant, who has furnished reliable information in the past, today advised that Congressman Adam Clayton Powell is carrying a revolver. The Congressman stated that he had a permit in New York City to carry a weapon and that as a member of an investigating committee he has the authority to carry a weapon anywhere in the United States. He wanted to let the police know that he was going to be armed while in Atlantic City in the event someone discovered this and telephoned the police.

MISSISSIPPI DEMOCRATIC FRONT PARTY (MDFP)

An informant, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised that the MDFP brought

SUMMARY OF ACTIVITIES, DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CONVENTION,  
ATLANTIC CITY, N.J., 8/23/64

with them to Atlantic City, New Jersey, college students who have been working in Mississippi on the summer teaching project. These individuals are in addition to the regular delegates of the LDFP.

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF  
COLORED PEOPLE (NAACP)

The NAACP called a rally at 3 p.m. on the west side of the All Wars Memorial Building in Atlantic City. It has been reported that the NAACP was very disappointed at the poor showing, particularly in view of the fact that there were very few local residents in attendance.

LOCAL NEGRO POPULATION, ATLANTIC CITY, NEW JERSEY

An informant, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised on August 23, 1964, that there is considerable concern on the part of the Negro community in Atlantic City because of the presence of a large number of out-of-town Negroes in the city. The informant stated that the bulk of the Atlantic City Police Department has been withdrawn from the Negro section, and they are afraid that a disturbance may erupt in a northside bar and develop into a riot before the local officials can get it under control. The northside section is almost exclusively colored.

AMERICAN NAZI PARTY (ANP)

It has been reported that George Lincoln Rockwell, head of the ANP, plans to bring approximately twelve men to Atlantic City for demonstration purposes. He has already been refused a permit by the Atlantic City Police Department; however, he intends to appear and has indicated that he expects to be arrested. Rockwell has not indicated the time in which he plans to appear in Atlantic City.

STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

An informant, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised that the more militant members

SUMMARY OF ACTIVITIES, DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CONVENTION,  
ATLANTIC CITY, N.J., 8/23/64

of CORE feel that the NAACP is not taking enough direct action regarding demonstrations in behalf of the MDWP. These individuals therefore, according to the source, are awaiting the arrival of John Lewis of the SNCC. At a rally at the Union Baptist Church in Atlantic City at 6 p.m., John Lewis spoke and emphasized the need for unified action but stressed in his talk the need for all demonstrations to be of a non-violent nature.

SCHEDULED DEMONSTRATIONS FOR MONDAY, AUGUST 24, 1964

An informant, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised that representatives of CORE, SNCC, the Mississippi Project Parents Committee and the Metropolitan Conference for Civil Rights Action Committee will leave Union Square, New York City, at 1 p.m., August 24, 1964, by bus for Atlantic City where they will demonstrate at 5 p.m. at the Columbus Plaza, Atlantic City.

In addition, information has also been received from an individual, who has furnished reliable information in the past, that representatives of the Bridgeport, Connecticut, Chapter of the WEB Du Bois Clubs will picket the Democratic National Convention on August 24, 1964. This group intends to return to Connecticut by 11 p.m.

MALCOLM X LITTLE

An informant, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised that Malcolm X Little had arrived in Atlantic City, New Jersey, and that he was staying at the Jamaica Motel.

Respectfully,

C. D. De Loach

To: Mr. Walter Jenkins

August 24, 1964

From: C. D. De Loach

Subject: A.M. SUMMARY OF ACTIVITIES,  
DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CONVENTION,  
ATLANTIC CITY, NEW JERSEY  
AUGUST 24, 1964

The following is a condensed summary of activities which have come to our attention as a result of the coverage which we have instituted in Atlantic City. This memorandum concerns activities since midnight, August 23, 1964.

GUESTS LINCOLN ROCKWELL

George Lincoln Rockwell, head of the American Nazi Party, accompanied by some of his "troopers" are to appear at Convention Hall this morning in uniform to demonstrate. Should they appear in uniform, they will be arrested by local authorities.

LOCAL BAPTIST CHURCH BEING USED BY "MISSISSIPPI GROUP"

It was announced at a meeting at the Union Temple Baptist Church that the "Mississippi group" is utilizing the basement meeting hall in the church. This basement hall is also being used for the preparation of various banners and placards that are being used by CORE and SNCC.

PARTY HONORING MISSISSIPPI FREEDOM DEMOCRATIC PARTY DELEGATES

A party in honor of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party (MFDP) delegates was to have been held at the Jamaica Hotel, 114 Adriatic Avenue, Sunday evening, August 23, 1964. This party has been postponed and is now scheduled at the Jamaica Hotel this evening, August 24, 1964, and appropriate coverage has been arranged.

W.E.B. DU BOIS CLUBS

The W.E.B. Du Bois Clubs plan to send delegates to Atlantic City on Tuesday, August 25, for the purpose of picketing the convention.

This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Committee. Its use is limited to official proceedings of your Committee and the content may not be disclosed without the express approval of the FBI.

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HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 10/29/00 BY SP2 ALM/MLF  
MOR-16

A.M. SUMMARY OF ACTIVITIES, DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CONVENTION,  
ATLANTIC CITY, NEW JERSEY, AUGUST 24, 1964

It has been learned these plans have been changed and these groups will arrive in Atlantic City by noon today. Representatives are coming from the Newark, Philadelphia, New York City and Baltimore Du Bois Clubs.

SILENT VIGIL BY CORE

At 6:00 a.m. today, a new group took up the silent vigil being maintained in the rotunda at Convention Hall. Numbering about 40 Negroes and whites, this group relieved the demonstrators who began their vigil at midnight. When asked by newsmen what they would do if the NEDP delegation is not seated, a spokesman sailed and said "We'll cross that bridge when we come to it."

Respectfully,

C. D. De Loach

To: Mr. Walter Jenkins

August 24, 1964

From: C. D. De Loach

Subject: AFTERNOON SUMMARY OF ACTIVITY,  
DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CONVENTION,  
ATLANTIC CITY, NEW JERSEY  
AUGUST 24, 1964

The following details regarding activities in Atlantic City have come to our attention during the late morning and early afternoon hours of August 24, 1964:

PLANS FOR PROPOSED DEMONSTRATION  
ON FLOOR OF CONVENTION

ACT, a racial organization originally formed in Chester, Pennsylvania, is attempting to formulate plans for a demonstration to be held on the floor of the Convention at an appropriate time. According to a reliable source, this activity would be similar to the demonstration staged by the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) during the Republican National Convention at San Francisco, when CORE members marched around the floor with a huge banner. Information now available indicates ACT may attempt to mount this demonstration on Wednesday, August 26, 1964, and it will be headed by Stanley Branch, Negro racial leader of Chester, Pennsylvania.

A second reliable source advised the FBI that Stanley Branch and Jessie Gray, one of the principal agitators during the Harlem riots and an ACT member from New York City, arrived in Atlantic City on August 23, 1964. Gray remained for only one day; however, he may return before the Convention is over.

AMERICAN NAZI PARTY

The Atlantic City Police Department advised that at approximately 12:20 p.m. today, August 24, 1964, a Hertz-rental truck with Virginia license proceeded south on Georgia Avenue to the Boardwalk. When the bus arrived at the Boardwalk, eight members of the American Nazi Party

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DATE 10/25/2000 BY SP2 JAM/mf

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AFTERNOON SUMMARY OF ACTIVITY, DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CONVENTION,  
ATLANTIC CITY, NEW JERSEY, AUGUST 24, 1964

dressed in khaki uniforms with swastika arm bands got out. As they gathered on the Boardwalk, they were attacked by pedestrians who assaulted them. The Nazi members were taken into custody by the Atlantic City Police Department and are being arraigned this afternoon (August 24, 1964). The police department was unable to locate the truck or the driver.

NEW YORK GROUP TO RALLY AT COLUMBUS PLAZA TODAY  
(AUGUST 24, 1964)

According to a reliable source, a group representing The Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), the Mississippi Project Parents Committee and the Metropolitan Conference for Civil Rights Action Committee departed from New York City early this afternoon (August 24, 1964) for Atlantic City. Upon arrival, they have been instructed to gather at Columbus Plaza on Atlantic Avenue for a rally, beginning at 5:00 p.m.

NEGROES BEING ALERTED IN ATLANTIC CITY

A reliable informant stated word is being passed around some of the local bars that "tonight is the night." This source was not aware of the significance of this message; however, it is known that a "kick-off" rally is being planned by CORE for tonight at 6:30 p.m. All Negro organizations together with the delegates of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party are being urged to attend this meeting which is to be held on the Boardwalk in front of Convention Hall. The New Jersey State Police and the Atlantic City Police Department are cognizant.

MEMBERS OF W.E.B. DU BOIS CLUB FROM NEW YORK CITY  
EXPECTED IN CITY TODAY

Approximately fifty members of the W.E.B. Du Bois Club, recently formed Communist Party youth group, departed New York City via bus today en route to Atlantic City. They



AFTERNOON SUMMARY OF ACTIVITY, DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CONVENTION,  
ATLANTIC CITY, NEW JERSEY, AUGUST 24, 1964

are using a New Jersey registered bus and will disembark at the Municipal Parking Lot on Tennessee Avenue. The FBI source said this group plans to leave Washington, D.C. at 7:00 p.m. for New York. At 2:30 p.m., August 24, 1964, a report was received that Du Bois members (approximately 100 strong) were picketing on Georgia Avenue.

NATION OF ISLAM (NOI)

According to a reliable source of the FBI, the leader of the Muslim Mosque in Atlantic City has said that he has not heard that any of Malcolm X Little's followers are planning to come to Atlantic City. The local NOI group in Atlantic City is planning no activity, as of now, during the Democratic National Convention; however, the local NOI temple is holding a meeting Tuesday night, August 25, 1964. Coverage of this matter has been arranged.

Respectfully,

C. D. De Loach

To: Mr. Walter Jenkins

August 24, 1964

From: C. D. De Loach

Subject: AFTERNOON SUMMARY OF ACTIVITIES,  
SUPPLEMENTARY REPORT,  
DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CONVENTION,  
ATLANTIC CITY, NEW JERSEY  
AUGUST 24, 1964

The following additional information regarding afternoon activities, August 24, 1964, is submitted for your information:

MARTIN LUTHER KING

~~A highly reliable source has informed us that Reverend King was scheduled to speak this afternoon before the Washington State delegates at 4:30 p.m., but is attempting to postpone this commitment until 5:30 p.m.~~

STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

We have learned that Nathan and Ann Schwerner, parents of Mickey Schwerner, one of the three CORE workers killed in Mississippi, are driving from New York City today to Atlantic City. The Schwerners plan to participate in a demonstration tonight which is scheduled to be handled at 6:30 p.m. on the Boardwalk in front of Convention Hall. (The FBI is affording this demonstration close coverage.) In this same connection the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) radio network has requested to have its members gather on the Boardwalk for this demonstration. This demonstration is being sponsored by SNCC, and both SNCC and CORE members have indicated the demonstration is being held in behalf of the Mississippi Democratic Freedom Party.

STUDENT PEACE UNION

Members of the Student Peace Union in New York City are distributing a newsletter today (August 24, 1964) in New York City which states that buses will depart New York for Atlantic City at 2 p.m. and 5 p.m. on Tuesday, August 25, 1964. The newsletter urges people to join members of the Student Peace Union and go to Atlantic City

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DATE 10/29/00 BY SP8 nm/lmg

MBR-14

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AFTERNOON SUMMARY OF ACTIVITIES, SUPPLEMENTARY REPORT,  
DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CONVENTION, ATLANTIC CITY, NEW JERSEY,  
AUGUST 24, 1964

to participate in a silent vigil to be held until 11:30 p.m. on the night of August 25, 1964. This leaflet states that the vigil will be peaceful regardless of any action taken against the participants.

RAYARD BUSTIN

A reliable source of information has told the FBI that Bayard Rustin, close friend of Reverend King, and a prominent civil rights leader, has said that he is not planning to go to Atlantic City during the Convention.

COORDINATION OF DEMONSTRATIONS

An informant, who has furnished the FBI reliable information previously, said that Jessie Gray, Harlem riot leader, reported that one Herbert Callendar is to be in charge of coordinating demonstrations in Atlantic City during the Convention. Callendar claims to have at least 1,000 persons lined up for these coordinated demonstrations. Callendar is the Chairman of the Bronx Chapter of CORE and is the individual who was arrested during the sit-down demonstration, March 6, 1964, at New York City Police Department headquarters. Callendar was subsequently arrested for illegal activities at the World's Fair.

While in Atlantic City Callendar is working out of CORE headquarters.

ATTITUDE OF DEMONSTRATORS

A reliable source with contacts in the Mississippi Democratic Freedom Party has said that representatives of this group are still optimistic (afternoon of August 24, 1964) that their trip to Atlantic City will be successful. This same source advised that he has no information indicating that this group is planning action should their efforts to be seated be unsuccessful. According to this informant, the bulk of the demonstrators in Atlantic City for the Convention appear to be well disciplined.

**AFTERNOON SUMMARY OF ACTIVITIES, SUPPLEMENTARY REPORT,  
DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CONVENTION, ATLANTIC CITY, NEW JERSEY,  
AUGUST 24, 1964**

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**CONGRESSMAN CHARLES DIGGS,  
DEMOCRAT (MICHIGAN)**

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According to information furnished by a reliable source, CORE headquarters in Atlantic City is trying to have the CORE organization in Detroit picket the law offices of Congressman Charles Diggs. CORE members in Atlantic City planning this action describe Congressman Diggs as a "shaky" person.

**DEMONSTRATION ON BOARDWALK AT CONVENTION HALL,  
AUGUST 24, 1964**

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The man in charge at the scene of the afternoon demonstration at Convention Hall is Cleveland Sellers of SNCC. Assisting him is Louis Smith who is associated with James Farmer, head of CORE.

During interview at approximately 3:15 p.m., Sellers and Smith advised that they expected the 250 demonstrators to grow to about 1,500 demonstrators by 6:30 p.m. today. They stated that the picketing will continue until a decision has been reached by the Credentials Committee regarding the Mississippi Democratic Freedom Party. Regardless of the decision of the Credentials Committee, both Sellers and Smith stated the civil rights organizations plan to support President Johnson. They emphasized that all activity on the part of the organizations and their demonstrations would be peaceful because they do not want anything to happen which would jeopardize President Johnson's chances in the November election. Both Sellers and Smith stated they have no plans to have any demonstrators get on the floor of the Convention, again not wanting to embarrass the President. The demonstrators will be augmented this evening by groups from Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Chicago, Virginia, Washington, D.C. and Mississippi.

Sellers and Smith stated their organization intends to welcome President Johnson when he arrives in Atlantic City. When questioned on this they commented that they intend to have demonstrators with placards in the vicinity when he arrives at Convention Hall. Sellers and Smith stated that

**AFTERNOON SUMMARY OF ACTIVITIES, SUPPLEMENTARY REPORT,  
DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CONVENTION, ATLANTIC CITY, NEW JERSEY,  
AUGUST 24, 1964**

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wordage on their placards would depend on the Credential Committee; however, they both stated that even though the Mississippi Democratic Freedom Party was rejected, the placards would be of a mild nature.

Sellers further commented that the Mississippi Summer Project group has practically dissipated all of its funds and they have practically no operating money at this time.

Respectfully,

C. D. De Loach

To: Mr. Walter Jenkins

August 25, 1964

From: C. D. DeLoach

Subject: MORNING SUMMARY OF ACTIVITIES,  
DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CONVENTION,  
ATLANTIC CITY, NEW JERSEY  
AUGUST 25, 1964

The following information is a summary of data which has come to our attention during last night and early this morning, August 25, 1964:

MARTIN LUTHER KING

A highly reliable source advised at midnight, last night, that Reverend King received a call from Bayard Rustin in New York City. King said that he was very encouraged by the way things were going; that there had been no demonstrations by the "Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party" (MFDP) and none were expected from that source.

As you were previously advised, Rustin had indicated that he was not planning to come to Atlantic City; however, King requested last night that Rustin should come to the Convention and Rustin said that he would be down, and that he would arrive in Atlantic City sometime during the morning of August 25, 1964. King then told Rustin that there were enough minority votes to bring the seating of the MFDP to the floor of the Convention.

At 10:40 a.m., August 25, 1964, we were advised that Bayard Rustin was in Reverend King's suite in Atlantic City.

Rustin contacted Eleanor Holm of the MFDP at the Gem Hotel, and Rustin inquired when Reverend King should talk to this morning. Eleanor Holm said she thought King should see Governor Endicott Peabody of Massachusetts, Mayor Robert Wagner of New York City, Governor Ronald G. (Pat) Brown of California, Mayor Richard Daley of Chicago and Governor John W. King of New Hampshire. The purpose of King's seeing these individuals is to urge them to call the White House directly and put pressure on the White House in behalf of the MFDP.

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MORNING SUMMARY OF ACTIVITIES, DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CONVENTION,  
ATLANTIC CITY, NEW JERSEY, AUGUST 25, 1964

At this same time Andy Young from Reverend King's staff spoke to Eleanor Holt of the LDFP and told her that the LDFP delegates should not think in terms of being a minority but should regard themselves as the only representatives in Mississippi. Young then told Holt that, "Off the record, of course, you know we will accept the Green compromise proposed." This refers to the proposal of Congresswoman Edith Green of Oregon.

A Mary King of the Washington State Delegation then spoke to Mr. Andy Young of Reverend King's staff. Mary King apologized to Young because she was unable to get her group to come to the forefront for the LDFP. Andy Young commented that the Johnson Administration is putting pressure on everybody and that people who were previously friendly are getting harder to find.

BO BOUWALK DEMONSTRATIONS

Approximately 120 demonstrators belonging to the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) and the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) spent all night on the boardwalk in front of Convention Hall. This was a silent vigil and there were no incidents.

RALLY SCHEDULED FOR TUESDAY NIGHT, AUGUST 25, 1964,  
8 P.M., PRICE MEMORIAL CHURCH, ATLANTIC CITY, N.J.

At last night's SNCC and CORE vigil outside Convention Hall handouts were being distributed announcing that a civil rights rally presenting Dick Gregory and Caleb Peterson would be held at Price Memorial A.M.E. Church, 525 Atlantic Avenue, at 8 p.m. Coverage of this rally has been arranged.

PROGRESSIVE LABOR MOVEMENT

We have been informed by reliable New York sources that a group of Progressive Labor Movement (PLM) members is traveling to Atlantic City on Wednesday, August 26, 1964. Self-admitted Communist Party (CP) member Edward Lemansky is heading this group. Lemansky was the leader of the student group which spent this past Summer in Cuba defying the State Department ban.

MORNING SUMMARY OF ACTIVITIES, DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CONVENTION,  
ATLANTIC CITY, NEW JERSEY, AUGUST 25, 1964

The PLM is an ultra-militant organization which supports the position of Red China and which group played a prominent role in the recent Harlem riots. A reliable source of this Bureau is accompanying the PLM group to Atlantic City.

POSSIBLE VIOLENCE, ATLANTIC CITY, N.J.

At approximately 7 p.m., August 24, 1964, a reliable source in Newark, New Jersey, advised that he had received information from one Geneva Holloway, a Negro female of Newark, New Jersey. Holloway advised the source that she had attempted to telephone New York City and after she had dialed two digits, she was cut in on a conversation between two men. One individual stated to the effect, "Are you sure there's only one Gem Motel?" The other individual answered to the effect, "Of course. I don't mind if someone gets a little scorched but I don't want any mass killing. I don't mind a little hysteria." The second individual then made a remark to the effect, "Can I take ya?", and the first individual stated, "Of course not. You can go it alone. I'll hear about it on the Huntley-Drinkley Report."

The Gem Motel in Atlantic City is where the MFDP are staying. The Atlantic City Police Department is cognizant of the above information and planned to maintain a close watch on the Gem Motel last night.

NATION OF ISLAM (NOI)

As you were advised yesterday, the local NOI temple in Atlantic City is scheduled to hold a meeting tonight, August 25, 1964. We have subsequently learned that this NOI meeting has been called off in order to avoid any possible trouble.

W.E.B. DU BOIS CLUBS

As you have been previously advised, several busloads of W.E.B. Du Bois members are coming to Atlantic City from surrounding metropolitan areas. This group is the recently-formed nationwide CP youth organization.



MORNING SUMMARY OF ACTIVITIES, DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CONVENTION,  
ATLANTIC CITY, NEW JERSEY, AUGUST 25, 1964

The Philadelphia group representing the Du Bois Clubs in that city arrived in Atlantic City on August 24, 1964, and participated in CORE picketing and activity. Reliable FBI sources are with this Philadelphia delegation.

ACT

A prominent racial leader and a reliable source of the FBI alerted us this morning that the racial group ACT intends to attempt a demonstration on the floor of the Convention. Such action would be taken by ACT without assistance from any other organization, and our source feels that such an incident may take place on Wednesday, August 26, 1964. The demonstration will call for amnesty for all individuals arrested during the recent Harlem riots in New York City. Our source is closely following this situation and will report further on this matter today.

Interestingly enough, a second FBI informant advised us within the hour that the prominent informant referred to above had arrived in Atlantic City and warned us that this man should be watched. As you know, our informants naturally are not aware of each other's identities.

ARRIVAL OF DEMONSTRATORS IN ATLANTIC CITY

At 11:25 a.m., this morning, we received a report that approximately 700 people are expected to arrive in Atlantic City today at Columbus Circle to support the AFDP. These demonstrators are being met by Herbert Callendar, who is responsible for coordinating their activities.

Respectfully,

C. D. De Loach

To: Mr. Walter Jenkins

August 25, 1964

From: C. D. De Loach

Subject: MORNING SUMMARY OF ACTIVITIES,  
SUPPLEMENTAL REPORT,  
DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CONVENTION,  
ATLANTIC CITY, NEW JERSEY  
AUGUST 25, 1964

The following information regarding additional morning activities, August 25, 1964, is submitted for your information:

EARLY MORNING CONFERENCE  
HELD BY NEGRO LEADERS

A reliable FBI source advised a meeting was held today in the Jamaica Hotel, 1140 Adriatic Avenue, beginning at approximately 5:30 a.m. Among those attending were Dick Gregory, Stanley Branche, Maxine Green, Reverend James Mc Graw and one unidentified individual. The informant did not know the purpose of this gathering; however, he stated that in his personal opinion CORE and SNCC leaders are concerned over the direction their future activities must take.

The source said he contacted Reverend Andrew Young, of Martin Luther King's staff, while he was in the Jamaica Hotel. Young advised the informant that he believes the members and followers of CORE and SNCC must be given "something to do" shortly.

CORE - SNCC  
LANDLORD HAS SECOND THOUGHTS  
ABOUT HIS TENANTS

The Atlantic City businessman who rented space for use as the "Convention City" headquarters for CORE and SNCC is having sad second thoughts about his tenants. The landlord operates a retail bakery shop next door to CORE's local command post, and he now finds he has more bread, cake and rolls left at the end of each day than he can personally eat.

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MDR-16

MORNING SUMMARY OF ACTIVITIES, SUPPLEMENTAL REPORT,  
DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CONVENTION, ATLANTIC CITY, NEW JERSEY  
AUGUST 25, 1964

Not only have his receipts dropped at an alarming daily rate, but also those of his fellow businessmen who share the block on Atlantic Avenue in which CORE is situated. In commenting on this financial pinch, which is beginning to approach the serious stage, the landlord expressed the opinion that the entire block is being skirted by potential customers because of the large number of "kooks" and "beatniks" who loiter continually in and outside of CORE headquarters.

INDEPENDENT CITIZEN'S COMMITTEE

If the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party (MFDP) delegation is seated at the Convention, the Independent Citizen's Committee (ICC), Philadelphia, does not plan to engage in any picketing at Atlantic City. If the MFDP group is rejected, however, the ICC will attempt to rush a motorcade from Philadelphia to exert pressure on the Convention.

The ICC was initiated and organized by the Communist Party of Eastern Pennsylvania and Delaware in October, 1963, for the purpose of providing a left-center group which would be capable of initiating political activity. As of May 22, 1964, the policies of ICC were being dominated by the Party through communists who were officers and members of the organization.

WOMEN'S INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE FOR PEACE AND FREEDOM

A reliable source has reported that six automobiles containing New Jersey and Pennsylvania members of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF) is scheduled to arrive in Atlantic City today. This group expects to be joined by WILPF delegations from Maryland, the District of Columbia and New York.

Beginning at 5:30 p.m. on August 25th, these individuals plan to participate in the silent vigil which is underway at the rotunda of Convention Hall. The group also will lobby among convention delegates and visitors for an end to the war in Viet Nam.

Respectfully,

C. D. De Loach

To: Mr. Walter Jenkins

August 25, 1964

From: C. D. De Loach

Subject: AFTERNOON SUMMARY OF ACTIVITY,  
DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CONVENTION,  
ATLANTIC CITY, NEW JERSEY  
AUGUST 25, 1964

The following details regarding activities in Atlantic City have come to our attention during the late morning and early afternoon hours of August 25, 1964:

CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY (CORE) - STUDENT NON-VIOLENT  
COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC) ALLEGED FUTURE PLANS

Early this afternoon, August 25, 1964, a reliable source of the FBI talked with one Abby Hoffman (phonetic), who is working in a minor leadership capacity with the combined CORE-SNCC groups. According to Hoffman, the leaders of CORE and SNCC held a meeting this morning regarding the two contending Mississippi convention delegations.

Hoffman said it was decided at this meeting that the silent vigil at the rotunda of Convention Hall will be continued until such time as the Credentials Committee announces its decision with respect to the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party (MFDP) delegates. The source advised there was some discussion regarding the possibility that both Mississippi delegations would be ignored and no announced decision would be forthcoming before the close of the convention. The reason advanced for this type of thinking was that the vote of Mississippi was actually of no importance to the Democratic Party at this time.

If, however, the Credentials Committee does rule against the MFDP, Hoffman said the leadership of CORE and SNCC intend to abandon the vigil and resort to some form of direct action. He said that while no violence is contemplated, CORE and SNCC do not feel any responsibility for what others will do once their groups resort to direct action. Hoffman expressed the opinion that the leadership of these two groups can control the conduct of their own followers.

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AFTERNOON SUMMARY OF ACTIVITY, DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CONVENTION,  
ATLANTIC CITY, NEW JERSEY, AUGUST 25, 1964

In addition, Hoffman advised he has just returned from working on the voter registration project in Mississippi for about five weeks. He stated he is from Boston and that he is a Brandeis University student. Hoffman characterized the voter registration project a failure, and said many of them had been sent out of Mississippi to engage in lobbying activity on behalf of the Negroes.

According to Hoffman, the combined leadership of CORE and SNCC on the scene in Atlantic City has been deferring to the wishes and guidance of the LDFP leadership; however, once a decision is reached regarding the latter's delegates, this situation will undergo a complete change. CORE and SNCC will no longer permit LDFP leaders to make all the important decisions, and each will resume control of its respective groups.

Source: Atlantic City Resident-Agency *CONF SOURCE*

CORE AND SNCC SOLICITING TICKETS FOR CONVENTION

A reliable informant has advised that members of SNCC and CORE are openly soliciting tickets for tonight's session of the Democratic National Convention. It is apparent these two groups are endeavoring to obtain as many tickets as possible.

In this respect, another reliable source said a member of the Philadelphia Branch of CORE stated there will be a demonstration if the Credentials Committee does not seat the LDFP delegates. It is not known, however, whether the solicitation of convention tickets has any connection with this allegation.

Sources: SAs BEN D. HALE and JOHN CARY *CONF JAMES*

PRESSURE BY PRESIDENT LYNDON JOHNSON CLAIMED

According to a reliable source, CORE-SNCC headquarters was advised early this afternoon that President Lyndon B. Johnson is reputedly bringing pressure to bear on the delegates of 15 unidentified states to prevent them from supporting a move to bring the Mississippi delegates issue to the floor of the convention.

Source: "pail"  
~~CONF SOURCE~~  
2 *ELSUR*

AFTERNOON SUMMARY OF ACTIVITY, DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CONVENTION,  
ATLANTIC CITY, NEW JERSEY, AUGUST 25, 1964

REVEREND MARTIN LUTHER KING

A highly reliable source advised that Bernard Lee of the Reverend Martin Luther King's staff was attempting without success to obtain another room at the Claridge Hotel in order that the Reverend King could get some "peace and quiet." Unable to obtain another room, Lee contacted a Mrs. Jackson of the Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, area, who appeared quite upset because "arrangements" had not been made and because Mrs. King was in Atlantic City. Mrs. Jackson told Lee that she would, nevertheless, drive to Atlantic City and obtain a motel room along the "pike area." She said she would then communicate with Lee using the name Mrs. Wallace in order that she would not be identified, and that maybe Reverend King might be able to get away in view of all of the caucuses, and so forth, he has to attend.

Shortly before 4 p.m. this afternoon, August 25, 1964, John Fitten of the California Delegation asked King to meet with the California delegates at 7 p.m., August 25, 1964. Previously King agreed to meet with the New York State delegates at 7:30 p.m. tonight.

MFDP leaders have asked Reverend King to call Governor Egan of Alaska and Governor Burns of Hawaii in an attempt to enlist their support. According to the MFDP spokesman, the Negro Mississippi Party needs these two states plus California and New York for the roll call tonight. Source: "Bucket" ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

SYMPATHETIC PICKETING

ELSVR

FBI sources report that CORE has been undertaking picketing in several cities urging support for the MFDP. A group of 25 demonstrators in Chicago, for example, picketed the Morrison Hotel urging that the Illinois Delegation support the Negro Mississippi delegates. Similar picketing was conducted by CORE in St. Louis yesterday.

STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

At 1 pm today the FBI office at Jackson, Mississippi, reported that eight Mississippi summer workers left Mississippi today headed for Atlantic City.

AFTERNOON SUMMARY OF ACTIVITY, DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CONVENTION,  
ATLANTIC CITY, NEW JERSEY, AUGUST 25, 1964

ACT

At approximately 2 p.m. today, a highly reliable source furnished information that the SNCC-CORE groups were trying to get in touch with Jessie Gray, the Harlem agitator and an official of ACT, to come to the CORE-SNCC headquarters. Our sources are in a position to report any joint action contemplated by ACT, CORE and SNCC.

At 4:30 p.m. today, August 25, 1964, we were advised that Jessie Gray, Stanley Branche and Lawrence Landry, all of ACT, have secured tickets to the convention tonight.

One James Pennis of CORE is trying to talk these three out of doing something and our informant feels these three have something planned for tonight.

ACT has rented quarters at 1814 Washington Avenue and is also using 119 Graneray Place as a center of activity.

MISSISSIPPI FREEDOM DEMOCRATIC PARTY (MFDP)

As a matter of information, Aaron Henry, Chairman of the MFDP, is staying in Room 102, Breakers Hotel, Atlantic City. One of his associates, Philip Savage, is staying with him.

REQUEST FOR "SKULL-CRACKING" IN ATLANTIC CITY

We have been advised by a reliable informant that an Atlantic City hoodlum requested a "strong-arm" man to come down to Atlantic City from North Jersey. The Atlantic City hoodlum said that he has to bring in a man to take care of a few people who need to have their "skulls cracked."

Respectfully,

C. D. De Loach

To: Mr. Walter Jenkins

August 26, 1964

From: C. D. DeLoach

Subject: MORNING SUMMARY OF ACTIVITIES,  
DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CONVENTION,  
ATLANTIC CITY, NEW JERSEY,  
AUGUST 26, 1964

The following observations are submitted in connection with the demonstrations at Convention Hall last night, together with pertinent developments since midnight. Our initial estimate of the situation this morning is that barring unforeseen developments, the number of demonstrators in Atlantic City today will be comparable with the number of demonstrators that were on hand yesterday, August 25, 1964. Although a number of buses departed Atlantic City last night returning demonstrators to their home areas, our informants report that a roughly equivalent number will be arriving in town during the course of the day.

#### DEMONSTRATION AT CONVENTION HALL

As you were advised last night with respect to the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party (MFDP) caucus at Union Temple Baptist Church, with regard to the Credentials Committee compromise plan, Martin Luther King was extremely unhappy about the way things turned out. King complained that he had no opportunity to speak to the caucus and Aaron Henry complained that he was shouted down by younger and militant members of the MFDP delegates. These younger delegates, whose leader was Bob Moses, adamantly refused to accept any compromise.

Throughout the course of the evening, as I advised you last night, the responsible Negro leadership insisted they were not going to engage in violence. Dr. Aaron Henry told a "reporter" that the MFDP was not going to violate any laws. We are of the opinion that one of the crucial points during the evening occurred when Moses and the more militant MFDP delegates revolted against the leadership of Aaron Henry and Reverend Edward King. We are carefully watching the situation in an attempt to learn whether or not the more reasonable views of Dr. Henry and Reverend King will prevail over the more militant members of the MFDP.

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MDR. 16



MORNING SUMMARY OF ACTIVITIES, DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CONVENTION,  
ATLANTIC CITY, NEW JERSEY, AUGUST 26, 1964

I called you shortly before 10 p.m., last night, to report that Bayard Rustin said he was very angry at the outcome of the MFDP caucus. Rustin said that Bob Moses completely took the play-way from Aaron Henry. Rustin said that Moses was completely irresponsible and wants attention. Rustin added that he does not want to see or talk to Moses. Rustin also said he had overheard plans of Moses to steal planes, and added that two members of the MFDP could have walked into the Convention with their heads high and received applause and recognition. Rustin and Reverend King planned to attend a meeting at 11 p.m., August 26, 1964, and they commented that if something was not done to change the attitudes of the MFDP delegates, they (Rustin and King) would walk out.

As I advised you at 11:30 p.m., last night, approximately 25 "Le-ninik" types were able to get into Convention Hall and obtain seats in Section 26 of the Visitors Gallery. The bulk of these individuals apparently had no badges at all; however, a reliable observer advised that six to ten of these people had Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) badges.

As I informed you at approximately 11:45 p.m., last night, Bayard Rustin and King conferred in King's room. Several members of the MFDP were present. Bayard Rustin called Hubert Humphrey and told Humphrey that the best thing to do was to ignore the MFDP and "let them fade away."

At this same time Bayard Rustin suggested to Martin Luther King that he should leave town.

Shortly after midnight I advised you that James Farmer of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) told a "reporter" that the members of the MFDP who had obtained access into Convention Hall would remain there overnight and would insist on full voting rights at the Convention today. Subsequently we were informed by this same source that these delegates would leave the hall.

MORNING SUMMARY OF ACTIVITIES, DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CONVENTION,  
ATLANTIC CITY, NEW JERSEY, AUGUST 26, 1964

(In view of its urgency, a resume of the following data was furnished you orally this morning at 11:15 a.m.)

Dick Gregory contacted Reverend King at 10:45 a.m., August 26, 1964, at which time King asked Gregory what he thought of last night. Gregory commented that he wished there would have been a floor fight in which King replied that would have been impossible and explained to Gregory the Convention procedures. Gregory commented that he has been purposely kept out of the situation but that he has been kept on top of things through a guy named Finney (phonetic) whom Gregory said was close to the President. Gregory commented that he told Finney that he could get the SCLC to go home provided the President would guarantee there would be Federal referees in the South in November to insure that Negroes could vote.

Gregory said that in effect the SCLC will have to go home and that he now plans on some direct action. Gregory said he sent a telegram to the President asking for amnesty for all civil rights workers who have been arrested and for Federal referees during the election in the South. Gregory stated that he was going to have a still-in this afternoon en route to Convention Hall. He has been making a survey and finds that people drive part way to the Convention and then walk the remaining distance. He intends to have a few people drive automobiles and block routes to Convention Hall, explaining that he only needs a few cars to block Pacific venue in view of its condition. Gregory further stated that he is going to keep the bulk of his forces until tomorrow, since the drivers of the vehicles will probably be arrested, when the President arrives in the city. He did not indicate what he intended to do tomorrow.

King then tried to reason with Gregory explaining that when Harry Goldwater was nominated the political complexion of the country changed. A coalition of racists and the extreme reactionary conservatives of the North could put Goldwater into office. Therefore, all the gains of the Negroes and the social legislation of recent years would go down the drain. Gregory stated, "Well, I don't

MORNING SUMMARY OF ACTIVITIES, DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CONVENTION,  
ATLANTIC CITY, NEW JERSEY, AUGUST 26, 1964

"give a God damn if Goldwater is elected because if he is,  
America deserves him."

Gregory sounded like he would like to see Goldwater elected because if he win, then it would create all kinds of trouble involving the race. Gregory then stated, "There is a thin line that keeps J. Edgar Hoover off the backs of Negroes. When Hoover said there were communists in the civil rights movement, I sent him a telegram and asked for a case. If there are communists in the civil rights movement, they are white communists and not Negro, and Hoover is trying to make like all Negroes are communists."

Gregory added that if some of these groups are not righted, he is going to support Martin Luther King for President and ask all the Negroes in the country to vote for him. He was emphatic that he was going to do this and told King that he was the greatest thing that ever happened to the Negroes and that King was a Negro leader who got some backbone into the people to get them moving in the civil rights effort.

Discussion of Vice-Presidential nominee came up and King asked what Gregory thought of Hugh Humphrey, and Gregory said Hugh Humphrey is not going to get it, that Johnson needs a Catholic Polk to go into the ghettoes where Johnson will not go and, therefore, the Vice-President will be a white man. Gregory said that this is all a part of the so-called white backlash.

King indicated that he was going to be in town today because he asked Gregory what he was performing and how he would get to the club and if he could get there in a taxi and told Gregory he might drop by tonight and catch a performance.

STILL-IN SCHEDULED FOR LATE AFTERNOON, AUGUST 26, 1964

A reliable source of the Federal Bureau of Investigation is involved with assisting in the formulation of the still-in plans, and we will keep you closely advised regarding all developments in this connection.

MORNING SUMMARY OF ACTIVITIES, DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CONVENTION,  
ATLANTIC CITY, NEW JERSEY, AUGUST 25, 1964

DICK GREGORY - A.M. PRESS CONFERENCE AUGUST 25, 1964

Canadian Dick Gregory held a press conference this morning at approximately 11 a.m. and made an announcement that the organization ACT was requesting amnesty for all persons arrested in recent civil rights riots and requesting voting registrars and election referees in the South. Gregory said that if this were not done, direct action will be taken.

Dick Gregory, on behalf of the racial organization ACT, sent the following telegram to the President at the White House at 11 a.m. this morning. A copy of this wire was directed to Hubert Humphrey in Atlantic City. The telegram reads as follows:

"We have mobilized to ACT to dramatize the two crucial causes of racial strife in this nation at this time which we believe have been avoided by the Democratic Party and this Convention, though it purports to be a convention of the party of all the people of this nation. These two causes which are inextricably interdependent upon each other are unrest and unrest. Therefore, we demand the Convention act to institute 1) Amnesty throughout several states for Freedom Fighters and innocent victims of racial strife. Specifically, civil rights workers in North and South, as well as those many people who were unjustly arrested in demonstrations and unrest produced by conditions recognized as intolerable by the Democratic Platform, the Poverty Bill and the Civil Rights Act; 2) The immediate appointment of Federal Registrars to provide facilities for mass registration of Negroes in Mississippi and throughout the South in time for full participation in this election 1964. Attempts of citizens to exercise their right guaranteed under the 14th and 15th Amendments to the Constitution of the United States have been cause of violent unrest, unwarranted arrest and police brutality by local authorities. Federal Marshals must protect their right to register and vote. Because these issues have been neglected and avoided by the Democratic Convention, we have resolved to act."

MORNING SUMMARY OF ACTIVITIES, DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CONVENTION,  
ATLANTIC CITY, NEW JERSEY, AUGUST 20, 1954

With respect to the above telegram, the ACT organization has reserved room 131 at the Jamaica Hotel and will operate out of this room. They have instructed that no one should attempt to call as they expect the President to call them relative to the telegram prior to 4 p.m. today.

Respectfully,

C. D. DeLoach

To: Mr. Walter Jenkins

August 26, 1964

From: C. D. DeLoach

Subject: MORNING AND EARLY AFTERNOON  
SUMMARY OF ACTIVITIES,  
SUPPLEMENTARY REPORT,  
DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CONVENTION,  
ATLANTIC CITY, NEW JERSEY  
AUGUST 26, 1964

Set out hereafter is a summary of activities occurring this morning and early this afternoon. Matters of particular importance contained hereafter were furnished orally to you promptly upon receipt.

GETTING OF MISSISSIPPI FREEDOM DEMOCRATIC PARTY (MFDP) DELEGATES

This morning a "reporter" interviewed Robert Jones of CCFO, Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) and member of the MFDP. This reporter also interviewed his assistant Dave Dennis; James Farmer, head of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE); Dr. Aaron Henry of the MFDP, and one Eddie Brown, who claims to be in charge of demonstrations. All of the individuals interviewed said that they are going to continue demonstrating in front of Convention Hall; however, they hope to be able to keep the demonstrations more orderly than last night, and they felt actions last night were "somewhat of a mistake" and that the situation got a little out of hand when certain demonstrators tried to accompany delegates into Convention Hall.

The individuals mentioned above agreed that they were going to try to reseat the MFDP delegates in Convention Hall this afternoon. They tentatively plan to meet from 1:30 p.m. until about 3:00 p.m., August 26, 1964. The purpose of the meeting was to make plans on how to get into Convention Hall and to consider whether or not they should employ the same methods they tried to use last night.

These spokesmen all indicated that they plan to stay in Atlantic City throughout the Convention.

These spokesmen said that they utilized friendly delegates to arrange for passes, both delegate passes and

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DATE 10/26/00 BY SP2 ALM/lmf

MOR-16

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MORNING AND EARLY AFTERNOON SUMMARY OF ACTIVITIES,  
SUPPLEMENTARY REPORT, DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CONVENTION,  
ATLANTIC CITY, NEW JERSEY, AUGUST 26, 1964

press credentials, to get into Convention Hall last night.

It was also disclosed that they are going to be watching to find out whether the staff of the Sergeant-at-Arms will be checking badge numbers with the names printed on the badges and they are going to be sure that the gatekeepers are not discriminating against Negroes. If such discrimination takes place, they plan to make a strong protest and demand that Convention officials check every individual's badge as they enter the hall.

Sometime this afternoon, Jim Farmer, Aaron Henry, et al, plan to make some sort of public announcement regarding their intentions but they were vague as to details.

Source: SA BEN HALE *em 11 8/26/64*

MARTIN LUTHER KING - BAYARD RUSTIN

~~Shortly after noon Bayard Rustin talked to a man who was trying to get in touch with Martin Luther King. This man wanted King to talk to SCLC delegates at the Union Temple Baptist Church at 1 p.m., this afternoon. Congressman Green is supposed to make a talk there and Jim Farmer, Mr. Foreman, Jack Pruitt, and a representative of the National Council of Churches are scheduled to be present.~~

~~According to the man who talked to Bayard Rustin, the SCLC delegates are standing on their decision to reject the findings of the Credentials Committee. The delegates want guidance from King.~~

~~Bayard Rustin promised that Reverend King would be at this meeting.~~

~~Rustin then spoke to a representative of the National Council of Churches and said that according to Hubert Humphrey, if the two delegates and two alternates of the SCLC (Henry and King) would come to Convention Hall tonight, they would be seated and the remainder of the SCLC would be seated elsewhere as a group on the floor. In a subsequent conversation Rustin was told that the SCLC delegates and alternates would be seated in the~~

MORNING AND EARLY AFTERNOON SUMMARY OF ACTIVITIES,  
SUPPLEMENTARY REPORT, DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CONVENTION,  
ATLANTIC CITY, NEW JERSEY, AUGUST 26, 1964

Mississippi Section and the remainder of the group  
elsewhere on the floor.

Regarding street demonstrations Rustin was queried as to whether there would be street demonstrations today. Rustin said that two-thirds of the "books" would drop out but this is all he can guarantee.

Source: "Bucket" *ELSUR*

CONVENTION HALL DEMONSTRATION

According to a reliable source, it was reported that Young Democrats for Johnson were inside the barricade demonstrating near Convention Hall. A CORE-SNCC walkie-talkie unit asked their headquarters whether CORE-SNCC demonstrators should have people join the Young Democrats for Johnson and try to get in the hall with them.

At approximately 1 p.m., today, the CORE headquarters radio instructed SNCC-CORE members to infiltrate the Young Democrats for Johnson group and utilize this technique in an attempt to get into Convention Hall.

Shortly after 1 p.m. a man by the name of Cooper at SNCC-CORE headquarters said that he had access to fifteen uniforms of the Young Democrats for Johnson.

A few minutes later the SNCC-CORE radio requested that ten neatly-dressed demonstrators be sent to CORE headquarters for "special assignment."

Source: "Pail" ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ *ELSUR*

PLANNED STALL-IN, LATE AFTERNOON, AUGUST 26, 1964

As you were informed this morning, we learned through a reliable source that Dick Gregory, speaking for ACT, was planning a stall-in to block traffic to Convention Hall. We noted earlier that one of our informants was to assist in the formulation of plans for the stall-in. Our informant has now reported that he was able to control the situation, and that it was agreed that ACT would not try to use cars to block the streets near Convention Hall, but that teams of three or four demonstrators would sit or lie down at the intersections of Pacific and Illinois, Pacific and Michigan, Pacific and Arkansas, and Pacific and Florida. Our source is trying



MORNING AND EARLY AFTERNOON SUMMARY OF ACTIVITIES,  
SUPPLEMENTARY REPORT, DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CONVENTION,  
ATLANTIC CITY, NEW JERSEY, AUGUST 26, 1964

to persuade ACT leaders to abandon even this part of the scheme altogether. ACT leaders are presently trying to locate volunteers from other organizations to participate in this sit-in. Tentatively, the sit-in was scheduled to occur between 5:15 and 6:30 p.m. Local law enforcement officials have been informed of these plans.

Source: JULIUS HOBSON, CONF SOURCE  
PROGRESSIVE LABOR MOVEMENT

Six members of the Chinese-oriented Marxist group, the Progressive Labor Movement (PLM) arrived in Atlantic City at 4 p.m. today from New York City. They are planning to contact several Congressmen and Senators and ask them to repeal the travel ban in Cuba and to stop forthcoming House Committee on Un-American Activities (HCUA) hearings. Thereafter the PLM members will join the demonstrators on the boardwalk.

SNCC-CORE ACTIVITIES, EVENING OF AUGUST 26, 1964

Shortly after 4 p.m., a reliable informant said that SNCC-CORE members are in a quandary and were complaining that the FBI knows every move they make before they even think about making it. Dick Gregory said that obviously there must be "stoolies" in the crowd and jokingly pointed to three different men saying, "There's one."

AK-6-5  
Source: <sup>INFORMANT</sup> NK 2116-S Respectfully,

C. D. DeLoach

To: Mr. Walter Jenkins

August 26, 1964

From: C. D. De Loach

Subject: LATE AFTERNOON REPORT OF  
ACTIVITIES, SUPPLEMENTARY REPORT,  
DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CONVENTION,  
ATLANTIC CITY, NEW JERSEY,  
AUGUST 26, 1964

The following details regarding activities in Atlantic City have been received by us during the afternoon hours:

COMMUNIST PARTY (CP) LEADERS IN ATLANTIC CITY

One of our reliable informants talked with James Jackson and Michael Davidow, CP leaders here in Atlantic City. James Jackson said he and Davidow were in town as representatives of the communist paper "The Worker" and Jackson claimed that he had been both inside and outside Convention Hall.

CONVENTION HALL SECURITY

A reliable source told us that he was with the demonstrators last night in the area where trucks backed into the side of Convention Hall for unloading purposes. Two guards were stationed at the truck entrance but our informant watched several demonstrators slip in past the guards. Our informant who was with the demonstrators had a ticket but was able to enter the Convention Hall through this Mississippi Avenue truck entrance without using this ticket. This informant was able to proceed to the press section just opposite the speakers platform without being challenged. The Secret Service and the responsible law enforcement agencies have been notified.

MEDICARE PICKETS

At 2:15 p.m., the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) - Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) radio reported that by the end of the day pickets for Medicare would number 14,000. Our coverage as of 6 p.m.,

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made JL  
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LATE AFTERNOON REPORT OF ACTIVITIES, SUPPLEMENTARY REPORT,  
DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CONVENTION, ATLANTIC CITY, NEW JERSEY,  
AUGUST 26, 1964

August 26, 1964, does not substantiate this claim, and it is felt this is a gross exaggeration. Our observers noted six busloads of elderly people unloading shortly before 1 p.m. This group totaled about 200 people. At 5:15 p.m., this afternoon, another twelve buses with over 400 Medicare pickets were unloading at Columbus Plaza.

BOARDWALK DEMONSTRATION NIGHT OF AUGUST 26, 1964

Shortly before 3 p.m., the CORE radio sent out word that everyone should be reminded about the Boardwalk rally scheduled for tonight. Radio instructions were issued by CORE to have all sound equipment pooled at the Gem Motel where it would be picked up at 5 p.m. today.

AFTERNOON MEETING AT UNION BAPTIST TEMPLE CHURCH,  
AUGUST 26, 1964

Our sources have reported that the afternoon meeting of racial leaders which commenced at 1 p.m. today at the Union Baptist Temple Church was still under way at 6 p.m. tonight. Among the leaders at the church are Martin Luther King, Jessie Gray, James Farmer, Robert Moses and Bayard Rustin.

According to our sources, a demonstration on the beach is planned to coincide with the opening of tonight's session of the Democratic Party Convention. A CORE member by the name of Smith is reported to be making the necessary arrangements for this affair.

The informants stated another meeting was held at the Jamaica Motel today from 4:00 to 4:30 p.m. Dick Gregory was present at this caucus. Gregory has been seen today in the company of some individuals unknown to the sources, who stated they looked like "thugs."

A reliable observer reported that there has been some apprehension among Negro leaders over the inclination

LATE AFTERNOON REPORT OF ACTIVITIES, SUPPLEMENTARY REPORT,  
DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CONVENTION, ATLANTIC CITY, NEW JERSEY,  
AUGUST 26, 1964

of Jessie Gray and Bayard Rustin to push too hard for additional gains for Negroes while the Convention is in session. A number of leaders wish to protect the "advancement" they have made so far during the Convention and they do not want Gray and Rustin to jeopardize these gains.

INFILTRATION OF CONVENTION HALL BY DEMONSTRATORS  
WEARING YOUNG DEMOCRATS FOR JOHNSON "UNIFORMS"

Shortly after 6 p.m. tonight we received a report from our source at SNCC-CORE headquarters that a message was sent from the headquarters indicating that the Young Democrats for Johnson uniforms are ready at the headquarters and someone should come over and pick them up.

REGULAR MISSISSIPPI PARTY DELEGATES

According to a report we received, Fred Berger, Chairman of the regular Mississippi delegates, his Co-chairman John Holiday and Douglas Lynn will be in attendance on the floor tonight. Chairman Berger will attempt to cast 21 of 24 votes for the regular Mississippi Party.

MEETING OF NEGRO LEADERS

The meeting of Negro leaders at the Union Baptist Temple Church did not break up until early this evening. As he left the church Dr. Aaron Henry said his group was returning to Convention Hall and attempt to get seated tonight. It was learned that Senator Morse had been in touch with the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party (MFDP) delegates and offered them a compromise which they refused to accept. Aaron Henry said there would be no further compromise with the white racists from Mississippi. Reverend Martin Luther King said he would ask for protection for the members of the MFDP when they return to Mississippi.

ALLEGED PLANS FOR ACTIVITIES AT  
CONVENTION HALL TONIGHT, AUGUST 26, 1964

One of our reliable informants, who has been

LATE AFTERNOON REPORT OF ACTIVITIES, SUPPLEMENTARY REPORT,  
DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CONVENTION, ATLANTIC CITY, NEW JERSEY,  
AUGUST 26, 1964

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maintaining constant contact with various groups particularly SNCC-CORE, has advised that 7 to 12 busloads are coming in this evening and will be held back until just before the Convention opens. He reported they will then march in mass to Convention Hall and conduct activities similar to those of last night. The informant advised that he believes these are mainly the same individuals who agitated last night who are returning from New York and other points.

Our informant has determined that demonstrators plan to again agitate to gain entry into Convention Hall for the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party delegates. If demonstrators get into the Hall, they plan to conduct a sit-in on the floor in the Mississippi space until they are bodily carried out.

The feeling, according to our informant, is that "tonight is the night" and that tomorrow will be too late and, therefore, tonight must be a "do or die" effort.

Respectfully,

C. D. De Loach.

To: Mr. Walter Jenkins

August 27, 1964

From: C. D. DeLoach

Subject: A.M. SUMMARY OF ACTIVITIES,  
DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CONVENTION,  
ATLANTIC CITY, NEW JERSEY  
AUGUST 27, 1964

As you are aware, the President's appearance last night had a marked effect on the dissident elements in the demonstrators in Atlantic City. Our observers noted a marked lessening of tension. The demonstrators were much less militant and the speeches made by racial leaders in front of Convention Hall were generally conciliatory calling for support for President Johnson.

As of noon today, our sources are reporting that there will be decidedly fewer demonstrators on the Boardwalk tonight. One of our men who has infiltrated the group at the Sea Hotel, headquarters for the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party (MFDP) delegation, reported just before noon that the "hangers-on" were straggling out of town.

Although over 100 buses arrived in Atlantic City early this morning, we did not observe any influx of "agitator" types at all. Most of the influx consisted of Young Citizens for Johnson groups and Medicare supporters.

During the most unusual circumstances, as of this time, we feel the potential for difficulties is considerably less than it was the previous two days.

MARTIN LUTHER KING

Our reliable informant, who has been covering Martin Luther King's activities in Atlantic City, reported this morning that King left town at 3:30 a.m. Leaders of his immediate staff left with him; however, his advisor, Bayard Rustin, is staying on in Atlantic City and has retained possession of Reverend King's suite at the Claridge Hotel.

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A. M. SUMMARY OF ACTIVITIES, DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CONVENTION,  
ATLANTIC CITY, NEW JERSEY, AUGUST 27, 1964

MFDP DELEGATES

The entire MFDP delegation has been extended an invitation to attend the reception honoring Mrs. John F. Kennedy today. Dr. Aaron Henry, Chairman of this group, advised one of our highly reliable sources this morning that his delegates plan to attend this reception.

Regarding this MFDP delegate group, we were able to ascertain this morning that they have reserved three buses. These buses are scheduled to pick up the delegation at the Gen Hotel at noon tomorrow, August 28, 1964. These buses are returning to Jackson, Mississippi, via Charlottesville and Knoxville. \*

Early this morning leaders of the MFDP contacted the Gen Hotel to awaken delegates. Delegates were told that they should try to get some people up on the Boardwalk this morning, as there were hardly any demonstrators on hand in front of Convention Hall. At this same time the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) - Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) group said they had people at Columbus Plaza to direct arrival of the demonstrators; however, there was little or no activity at the Plaza.

Just before noon today a meeting of the MFDP delegates was held at the Union Temple Baptist Church. The purpose of this meeting was to draft a letter of appeal to the President. The letter will express concern for the safety of the MFDP delegates who are returning to Mississippi tomorrow. They plan to ask the President to make some sort of statement guaranteeing these delegates protection. Plans are also being discussed for the MFDP delegates to stop by Washington en route to Jackson, Mississippi, at which time they will attempt to personally present their letter to the White House.

BOARDWALK RALLY, AUGUST 27, 1964

From our informant at CORE-SNCC headquarters, we have determined this morning that they will again discuss plans for the daily rally on the Boardwalk. Originally they discussed calling the rally for 6 p.m. but have moved the time back until the Convention

A.M. SUMMARY OF ACTIVITIES, DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CONVENTION,  
ATLANTIC CITY, NEW JERSEY, AUGUST 27, 1964

commences in order that there will hopefully be a larger crowd in front of the Hall. (Comedian Dick Gregory and folk singers Peter, Paul and Mary will be featured.)

CORE-SNCC HEADQUARTERS

Our coverage at CORE-SNCC headquarters this morning revealed that CORE-SNCC leaders requested a messenger to deliver twenty Youth for Johnson tickets to the Union Temple Baptist Church. As I indicated above, the LFDP delegates were at the church this morning and held a meeting. The meeting at the church broke up just prior to 12:30 p.m. One observer reported that the delegates were "quiet and placid."

Respectfully,

C. D. DeLoach

\* LFDP DELEGATION

A "reporter" interviewed Bob Loses and Dr. Aaron Henry at 1:30 p.m. today, August 27, 1964. Loses said that the LFDP delegates had changed plans and are now planning to leave Atlantic City via bus at 1 a.m., August 28, 1964. Dr. Henry, when queried regarding this departure time, said it would be very early in the morning of August 28, 1964. When told that Loses said the buses were departing at 1 a.m., Dr. Henry said, "Well then, this is right and I will be on the bus."



To: Mr. Walter Jenkins

August 27, 1964

From: C. D. De Loach

Subject: AFTERNOON SUMMARY OF ACTIVITIES  
DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CONVENTION  
ATLANTIC CITY, NEW JERSEY  
AUGUST 27, 1964

The following details regarding activities in Atlantic City were received during the late morning and afternoon hours:

PRAYER MEETING AND CAUCUS PLANNED BY  
MISSISSIPPI FREEDOM DEMOCRATIC PARTY (MFDP) DELEGATES

A highly reliable informant of the FBI advised the MFDP delegation plans to conduct a prayer meeting on the boardwalk today. It will take place from 6:00 to 7:00 p.m. and will be concluded with the placing of a wreath at the memorial to President John F. Kennedy at the rotunda in front of Convention Hall.

Following this ceremony, the MFDP group will caucus at the Union Baptist Temple Church from 7:30 p.m. until 10:30 p.m. It is believed this meeting will concern plans of the delegation to depart from Atlantic City shortly after midnight for the return trip to Jackson, Mississippi.

It has been learned from a very reliable source that apprehension concerning personal safety continues to be expressed by some members of MFDP. This anxiety appears to be based primarily over fear of some sort of reprisal following their return to Mississippi.

Reverend Edwin King told a "reporter" that he and his wife plan to remain in the east for about a week following the conclusion of the Democratic National Convention. He will return to Mississippi in time for the fall session of college.

King said he had received information that some of the MFDP delegates' families have received threatening telephone calls to their homes in Mississippi. He said he had no information indicating there have been any acts of violence directed against the residences or families of the MFDP delegation.

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AFTERNOON SUMMARY OF ACTIVITIES, DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CONVENTION  
ATLANTIC CITY, NEW JERSEY, AUGUST 27, 1964

Mrs. Fannie Lou Hamer advised our source she will remain in Atlantic City until the conclusion of the convention, serving as Vice-Chairman of the Council of Federated Organizations in Mississippi.

SILENT VIGIL ON BOARDWALK DWINDLES

By early afternoon today it was apparent that participation in the silent vigil being conducted at the rotunda in front of Convention Hall is diminishing rapidly. Three loads of blankets have been removed from the scene and the number of individuals maintaining this demonstration had dwindled to about forty. Apparently, exhaustion has set in and the condition of the participants has been described as being "pretty beat". Nothing has been said about replacing the people who have abandoned the vigil during the past twelve hours.

CCRE-SNCC RALLY PLANNED FOR TONIGHT

CCRE and SNCC plan to sponsor another rally on the boardwalk around 5:00 p.m. today. In an apparent attempt to bolster participation in this demonstration, word has been passed that Dick Gregory, Oscar Brown, Jr. and Theodore Eichel will make an appearance. If efforts to drum up sufficient participants for this rally fail, it will not be held and efforts will be concentrated on the prayer meeting scheduled for 6:00 p.m.

DR. AARON HENRY DEPARTS ATLANTIC CITY

A reliable source advised late this afternoon that Dr. Aaron Henry canceled his plans to accompany the NNDP delegation when it leaves Atlantic City on August 28, 1964. According to this informant, Dr. Henry has already departed the city, en route for Mississippi.

Respectfully,

C. D. De Loach

NOV 2 1975

TO: John A. Mintz, Assistant Director  
Legal Counsel Division  
Federal Bureau of Investigation

FROM: Michael E. Shaheen, Jr.  
Special Counsel for Intelligence  
Coordination

SUBJECT: Senate Select Committee Request

(Handwritten mark resembling a stylized 'T' or '1' inside a circle)

This memorandum confirms a telephone conversation I had with John Elliff yesterday, November 20, 1975, concerning the scope of Senator Church's request in his letter of November 11, 1975 (a copy of which is attached), in which he sought delivery of "legible unexcised copies" of "the DeLoach memoranda of August 24-27, 1964 (concerning the 1964 Democratic Convention daily summaries from DeLoach to Walter Jenkins)"....

In that conversation Mr. Elliff advised that the Select Committee was now seeking the requested memoranda with the clear understanding and intention that the so-called "fruits" of all surveillances were to be included in response to that request.

Please prepare the requested materials for delivery.

cc: Paul Daly

*In accordance with above instructions, Elliff SSC, this date was furnished with attached requested pages of enclosures furnished SSC by memo 11/19/75 in response to request 11/11/75*  
*TDM/pmk*

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62-116-75-1139

DeLoach to Mohr

RE: Special Squad, Atlantic City, New Jersey  
Democratic National Convention  
August 22-28, 1964

Monday, August 24, 1964

On Sunday morning, August 23, 1964, we located a truck on Pacific Avenue carrying a burned-out car, a huge burlap-wrapped cross and a large church bell. Rumors swept Atlantic City that the car was actually the one used by Schwerner, Goodman and Chaney. Shortly after its appearance this truck was placed on a parking lot close by Convention Hall. We quickly established the fraudulency of these rumors and through police contacts we thwarted the racial group's plans to parade this burned car through Atlantic City streets.

On Monday, we furnished Mr. Jenkins details regarding the plans of CORE, the American Nazi Party, the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee and initial plans of the MFDP.

Appropriate officials were notified of the intention of the Negro racial groups to establish a silent vigil on the boardwalk at the main entrance to Convention Hall. This vigil was to be maintained until a report was issued by the Credentials Committee regarding the seating of the MFDP delegates.

Tuesday, August 25, 1964

Jenkins was advised that Martin Luther King had prevailed upon Bayard Rustin to come to Atlantic City that day. We alerted White House representatives regarding compromise proposals for seating of the MFDP and furnished them information regarding plans of the Progressive Labor Movement groups, ACT and other dissident organizations. Martin Luther King attempted to arrange a rendezvous with a Mrs. Jackson of Philadelphia. Our sources reported that SNCC and CORE were attempting to secure tickets to gain entrance to Convention Hall. Through a highly confidential source, it was learned that CORE and SNCC had been advised that the President was bringing pressure to bear on the delegates of 15 states to preclude their support of a move to bring the Mississippi delegates issue to the floor of the Convention.

Wednesday, August 26, 1964

We submitted reports reflecting that the militant members of MFDP under the leadership of Robert Moses were revolting against the leadership of Martin Luther King and Aaron Henry. We advised Jenkins that the MFDP delegates had flatly rejected the compromise proposal to seat the MFDP delegation. We reported that

- 4 -

CONTINUED-OVER

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MAR-16

DeLoach to Mohr

RE: Special Squad, Atlantic City, New Jersey  
Democratic National Convention  
August 22-28, 1964

Dick Gregory, through ACT, was attempting to promote a stall-in to block access to Convention Hall. One of our key informants was instructed by Gregory to plan this demonstration and through our control of him we were able to completely thwart Gregory. We also alerted the White House in advance regarding the telegram prepared by ACT demanding amnesty for Harlem rioters and for Federal registrars to police Negro voting in the South.

In consultation with Convention planners, we pointed out serious gaps in controlling admission to Convention Hall which had permitted entrance of dissident elements on the Convention floor. Jenkins immediately placed these recommendations into effect.

Thursday, August 27, 1964

We determined Martin Luther King and his staff were departing from Atlantic City early Thursday morning, and appropriate officials were advised of this. We also reported efforts of CORE-SNCC leaders to secure uniforms of the Young Citizens for Johnson groups and to utilize them for gaining entrance into Convention Hall. We were able to report that the number of participants of the silent vigil would dwindle rapidly. Although the demonstrations quieted down Thursday night, we were heavily involved in checking out the reports that a four-man group of Puerto Rican terrorists from New York were in Atlantic City in an attempt to assassinate the President.

MISCELLANEOUS:

For the benefit of the Domestic Intelligence and General Investigative Divisions, separate memoranda are being submitted regarding informant coverage. I am also recommending letters of appreciation to cooperative individuals whose efforts facilitated the squad's work in Atlantic City.

INFORMANT ACTIVITIES:

In connection with our Convention coverage, the special squad utilized the following sources:

*NUMBER OF CONFIDENTIAL AND INFORMANTS*

- 1 symbol number informants from other offices;
- 1 confidential sources from other offices;
- 1 liaison source from another office;

To: Mr. Walter Jenkins

August 24, 1964

From: C. D. De Loach

Subject: AFTERNOON SUMMARY OF ACTIVITIES,  
SUPPLEMENTARY REPORT,  
DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CONVENTION,  
ATLANTIC CITY, NEW JERSEY  
AUGUST 24, 1964

The following additional information regarding afternoon activities, August 24, 1964, is submitted for your information:

MARTIN LUTHER KING

A highly reliable source has informed us that Reverend King was scheduled to speak this afternoon before the Washington State delegates at 4:30 p.m., but is attempting to postpone this commitment until 5:30 p.m.

STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

We have learned that Nathan and Ann Schwerner, parents of Mickey Schwerner, one of the three CORE workers killed in Mississippi, are driving from New York City today to Atlantic City. The Schwerners plan to participate in a demonstration tonight which is scheduled to be handled at 8:30 p.m. on the Boardwalk in front of Convention Hall. (The FBI is affording this demonstration close coverage.) In this same connection the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) radio network has requested to have its members gather on the Boardwalk for this demonstration. This demonstration is being sponsored by SNCC, and both SNCC and CORE members have indicated the demonstration is being held in behalf of the Mississippi Democratic Freedom Party.

STUDENT PEACE UNION

Members of the Student Peace Union in New York City are distributing a newsletter today (August 24, 1964) in New York City which states that buses will depart New York for Atlantic City at 2 p.m. and 5 p.m. on Tuesday, August 25, 1964. The newsletter urges people to join members of the Student Peace Union and go to Atlantic City

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To: Mr. Walter Jenkins

August 25, 1964

From: C. D. DeLoach

Subject: MORNING SUMMARY OF ACTIVITIES,  
DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CONVENTION,  
ATLANTIC CITY, NEW JERSEY  
AUGUST 25, 1964

The following information is a summary of data which has come to our attention during last night and early this morning, August 25, 1964:

MARTIN LUTHER KING

A highly reliable source advised at midnight, last night, that Reverend King received a call from Bayard Rustin in New York City. King said that he was very encouraged by the way things were going; that there had been no demonstrations by the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party (MFDP) and none were expected from that source.

As you were previously advised, Rustin had indicated that he was not planning to come to Atlantic City; however, King requested last night that Rustin should come to the Convention and Rustin said that he would be down, and that he would arrive in Atlantic City sometime during the morning of August 25, 1964. King then told Rustin that there were enough minority votes to bring the seating of the MFDP to the floor of the Convention.

At 10:40 a.m., August 25, 1964, we were advised that Bayard Rustin was in Reverend King's suite in Atlantic City.

Rustin contacted Eleanor Holm of the MFDP at the Gen Hotel, and Rustin inquired whom Reverend King should talk to this morning. Eleanor Holm said she thought King should see Governor Edicott Peabody of Massachusetts, Mayor Robert Wagner of New York City, Governor Edmund G. (Pat) Brown of California, Mayor Richard Daley of Chicago and Governor John W. King of New Hampshire. The purpose of King's seeing these individuals is to urge them to call the White House directly and put pressure on the White House in behalf of the MFDP.

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MORNING SUMMARY OF ACTIVITIES, DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CONVENTION,  
ATLANTIC CITY, NEW JERSEY, AUGUST 25, 1964

At this same time Andy Young from Reverend King's staff spoke to Eleanor Holm of the FDP and told her that the FDP delegates should not think in terms of being a minority but should regard themselves as the only representatives in Mississippi. Young then told Holm that, "Off the record, of course, you know we will accept the Green compromise proposed." This refers to the proposal of Congresswoman Edith Green of Oregon.

A Mary King of the Washington State Delegation then spoke to Mr. Andy Young of Reverend King's staff. Mary King apologized to Young because she was unable to get her group to come to the forefront for the FDP. Andy Young commented that the Johnson Administration is putting pressure on everybody and that people who were previously friendly are getting harder to find.

BOARDWALK DEMONSTRATIONS

Approximately 120 demonstrators belonging to the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) and the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) spent all night on the boardwalk in front of Convention Hall. This was a silent vigil and there were no incidents.

RALLY SCHEDULED FOR TUESDAY NIGHT, AUGUST 25, 1964,  
8 P.M., PRICE MEMORIAL CHURCH, ATLANTIC CITY, N.J.

At last night's SNCC and CORE vigil outside Convention Hall handouts were being distributed announcing that a civil rights rally presenting Dick Gregory and Caled Peterson would be held at Price Memorial A.M.E. Church, 525 Atlantic Avenue, at 8 p.m. Coverage of this rally has been arranged.

PROGRESSIVE LABOR MOVEMENT

We have been informed by reliable New York sources that a group of Progressive Labor Movement (PLM) members is traveling to Atlantic City on Wednesday, August 26, 1964. Self-admitted Communist Party (CP) member Edward Lemansky is heading this group. Lemansky was the leader of the student group which spent this past Summer in Cuba defying the State Department ban.



AFTERNOON SUMMARY OF ACTIVITY, DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CONVENTION,  
ATLANTIC CITY, NEW JERSEY, AUGUST 25, 1964

REVEREND MARTIN LUTHER KING

A highly reliable source advised that Bernard Lee of the Reverend Martin Luther King's staff was attempting without success to obtain another room at the Claridge Hotel in order that the Reverend King could get some "peace and quiet." Unable to obtain another room, Lee contacted a Mrs. Jackson of the Philadelphia, Pennsylvania area, who appeared quite upset because "arrangements" had not been made and because Mrs. King was in Atlantic City. Mrs. Jackson told Lee that she would, nevertheless, drive to Atlantic City and obtain a hotel room along the "pike area." She said she would then communicate with Lee using the name Mrs. Wallace in order that she would not be identified, and that maybe Reverend King might be able to get away in view of all of the caucuses, and so forth, he has to attend.

Shortly before 4 p.m. this afternoon, August 25, 1964, John Sutton of the California Delegation asked King to meet with the California delegates at 7 p.m., August 25, 1964. Previously King agreed to meet with the New York State delegates at 7:30 p.m. tonight.

NEDP leaders have asked Reverend King to call Governor Egan of Alaska and Governor Burns of Hawaii in an attempt to enlist their support. According to the NEDP spokesman, the Negro Mississippi Party needs these two states plus California and New York for the roll call tonight.

Source:  ELSUR

SYMPATHETIC PICKETING

FBI sources report that CORE has been undertaking picketing in several cities urging support for the NEDP. A group of 25 demonstrators in Chicago, for example, picketed the Morrison Hotel urging that the Illinois Delegation support the Negro Mississippi delegates. Similar picketing was conducted by CORE in St. Louis yesterday.

STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

At 1 p.m. today the FBI office at Jackson, Mississippi, reported that eight Mississippi summer workers left Mississippi today headed for Atlantic City.

MORNING SUMMARY OF ACTIVITIES, DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CONVENTION,  
ATLANTIC CITY, NEW JERSEY, AUGUST 26, 1964

(In view of its urgency, a resume of the following  
data was furnished you orally this morning at 11:15 a.m.)

Dick Gregory contacted Reverend King at 10:43 a.m., August 26, 1964, at which time King asked Gregory what he thought of last night. Gregory commented that he wished there would have been a floor fight in which King replied that would have been impossible and explained to Gregory the Convention procedures. Gregory commented that he has been purposely kept out of the situation but that he has been kept on top of things through a guy named Finnegan (phonetic) whom Gregory said was close to the President. Gregory commented that he told Finnegan that he could get the NRP to go home provided the President would guarantee there would be Federal referees in the South in November to insure that Negroes could vote.

Gregory said that in effect the NRP will have to go home and that he now plans on some direct action. Gregory said he sent a telegram to the President asking for amnesty for all civil rights workers who have been arrested and for Federal referees during the election in the South. Gregory stated that he was going to have a still-in this afternoon en route to Convention Hall. He has been making a survey and finds that people drive part way to the Convention and then walk the remaining distance. He intends to have a few people drive automobiles and block routes to Convention Hall, explaining that he only needs a few cars to block Pacific Avenue in view of its condition. Gregory further stated that he is going to keep the bulk of his forces until tomorrow, since the drivers of the vehicles will probably be arrested, when the President arrives in the city. He did not indicate what he intended to do tomorrow.

King then tried to reason with Gregory explaining that when Harry Goldwater was nominated the political complexion of the country changed. A coalition of racists and the extreme reactionary conservatives of the North could put Goldwater into office. Therefore, all the gains of the Negroes and the social legislation of recent years would go down the drain. Gregory stated, "Well, I don't

MORNING STARBY OF ACTIVITIES, DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CONVENTION,  
ATLANTIC CITY, NEW JERSEY, AUGUST 26, 1964

"give a God damn if Goldwater is elected because if he is, America deserves him."

Gregory sounded like he would like to see Goldwater elected because if he was, then it would create all kinds of trouble involving the races. Gregory then stated, "There is a thin line that keeps J. Edgar Hoover off the backs of Negroes. When Hoover said there were communists in the civil rights movement, I sent him a telegram and asked for names. If there are communists in the civil rights movement, they are white communists and not Negro, and Hoover is trying to make like all Negroes are communists."

Gregory added that if some of these wrongs are not righted, he is going to announce Martin Luther King for President and ask all the Negroes in the country to vote for him. He was emphatic that he was going to do this and told King that he was the greatest thing that ever happened to the Negroes and that King was a Negro leader who got some backbones into the people to get them moving in the civil rights effort.

Discussion of a Vice-Presidential nominee came up and King asked what Gregory thought of Hugh Humphrey, and Gregory said Hugh Humphrey is not going to get it, that Johnson needs a Catholic vote to go into the ghettoes where Johnson will not journey and, therefore, the Vice-President will be Hankie of Missa. Gregory said that this is all a part of the so-called white backwash.

King indicated that he was going to be in town today because he asked Gregory where he was performing and how he would get to the club and if he could get there in a taxi and told Gregory he might drop by tonight and catch a performance.

STALL-IN SCHEDULED FOR LATE AFTERNOON, AUGUST 26, 1964

A reliable source of the Federal Bureau of Investigation is involved with assisting in the formulation of the stall-in plans, and we will keep you closely advised regarding all developments in this connection.

**MORNING AND EARLY AFTERNOON SUMMARY OF ACTIVITIES,  
SUPPLEMENTARY REPORT, DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CONVENTION,  
ATLANTIC CITY, NEW JERSEY, AUGUST 26, 1964**

press credentials, to get into Convention Hall last night.

It was also disclosed that they are going to be watching to find out whether the staff of the Sergeant-at-Arms will be checking badge numbers with the names printed on the badges and they are going to be sure that the gatekeepers are not discriminating against Negroes. If such discrimination takes place, they plan to make a strong protest and demand that Convention officials check every individual's badge as they enter the hall.

Sometime this afternoon, Jim Farmer, Aaron Henry, et al, plan to make some sort of public announcement regarding their intentions but they were vague as to details.

Source: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ CONF SOURCE

**MARTIN LUTHER KING - BAYARD RUSTIN**

Shortly after noon Bayard Rustin talked to a man who was trying to get in touch with Martin Luther King. This man wanted King to talk to MFDP delegates at the Union Temple Baptist Church at 1 p.m., this afternoon. Congresswoman Creech is supposed to make a talk there and Jim Farmer, Jr. Foreman, Jack Pratt, and a representative of the National Council of Churches are scheduled to be present.

According to the man who talked to Bayard Rustin, the MFDP delegates are standing on their decision to reject the findings of the Credentials Committee. The delegates want guidance from King.

Bayard Rustin promised that Reverend King would be at this meeting.

Rustin then spoke to a representative of the National Council of Churches and said that according to Hubert Humphrey, if the two delegates and two alternates of the MFDP (Henry and King) would come to Convention Hall tonight, they would be seated and the remainder of the MFDP would be seated elsewhere as a group on the floor. In a subsequent conversation Rustin was told that the MFDP delegates and alternates/ would be seated in the

MORNING AND EARLY AFTERNOON SUMMARY OF ACTIVITIES,  
SUPPLEMENTARY REPORT, DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CONVENTION,  
ATLANTIC CITY, NEW JERSEY, AUGUST 26, 1964

Mississippi Section and the remainder of the group elsewhere on the floor.

Regarding street demonstrations Rustin was queried as to whether there would be street demonstrations today. Rustin said that two-thirds of the "books" would drop out but this is all he can guarantee.

Source: ██████████ ELSUR

CONVENTION HALL DEMONSTRATION

According to a reliable source, it was reported that Young Democrats for Johnson were inside the barricade demonstrating near Convention Hall. A CORE-SNCC walkie-talkie unit asked their headquarters whether CORE-SNCC demonstrators should have people join the Young Democrats for Johnson and try to get in the hall with them.

At approximately 1 p.m., today, the CORE headquarters radio instructed SNCC-CORE members to infiltrate the Young Democrats for Johnson group and utilize this technique in an attempt to get into Convention Hall.

Shortly after 1 p.m. a man by the name of Cooper at SNCC-CORE headquarters said that he had access to fifteen uniforms of the Young Democrats for Johnson.

A few minutes later the SNCC-CORE radio requested that ten neatly-dressed demonstrators be sent to CORE headquarters for "special assignment."

Source: ██████████ ELSUR

PLANNED STALL-IN, LATE AFTERNOON, AUGUST 26, 1964

As you were informed this morning, we learned through a reliable source that Dick Gregory, speaking for ACT, was planning a stall-in to block traffic to Convention Hall. We noted earlier that one of our informants was to assist in the formulation of plans for the stall-in. Our informant has now reported that he was able to control the situation, and that it was agreed that ACT would not try to use cars to block the streets near Convention Hall, but that teams of three or four demonstrators would sit or lie down at the intersections of Pacific and Illinois, Pacific and Michigan, Pacific and Arkansas, and Pacific and Florida. Our source is trying



OFFICE OF THE DEPUTY ATTORNEY GENERAL  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20530

NOV 3 1975

TO: John A. Mintz, Assistant Director  
Legal Counsel Division  
Federal Bureau of Investigation

*M.K.*

FROM: Michael E. Shaheen, Jr.  
Special Counsel for Intelligence  
Coordination

*FBI*

SUBJECT: Senate Select Committee Request Dated  
November 11, 1975

Attached is a letter from Senator Church requesting delivery of the DeLoach memoranda of August 24-27, 1964, (concerning the 1964 Democratic National Convention daily summaries from DeLoach to Walter Jenkins). Please prepare the requested response.

*lc*

cc: Paul Daly

ST-110

REC-7. 62-116375-1137

DEC 5 1975

*5- [Signature]*

*Let to AG  
cc DAK  
11/18/75  
JTA: [Signature]*

*Rec'd 8:50 am  
11/14/75*



2- ENCLOSURE

FBI  
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 10/24/2000 BY SP2 ram/hmf  
MOR-16

FRANK CHURCH, IDAHO, CHAIRMAN  
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RICHARD S. SCHWEIKER, PA.

WILLIAM G. MILLER, STAFF DIRECTOR  
FREDERICK A. O. SCHWARZ, JR., CHIEF COUNSEL  
CURTIS R. SMOTHERS, MINORITY COUNSEL

# United States Senate

SELECT COMMITTEE TO  
STUDY GOVERNMENTAL OPERATIONS WITH  
RESPECT TO INTELLIGENCE ACTIVITIES

(PURSUANT TO S. RES. 21, 94TH CONGRESS)

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510

November 11, 1975

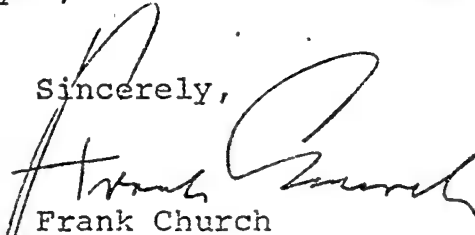
Attorney General Edward H. Levi  
Room 5111  
Department of Justice  
Washington, D.C. 20530

Dear Mr. Attorney General:

In my letter to you of August 28, 1975, concerning Committee document requests, I said that we did not want the DeLoach memoranda of August 24-27, 1964 (concerning the 1964 Democratic National Convention daily summaries from DeLoach to Walter Jenkins) at that time.

Because of the present posture of our investigation, I am now requesting delivery of legible, unexcised copies of these memoranda by Friday, November 14, 1975. I understand that the FBI has compiled and readied these documents for delivery and that the only delay in delivery concerns my sending this request to you, since it does relate to the August 28 request.

Sincerely,

  
Frank Church  
Chairman



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DATE 10/21/2000 BY SP2 DM/mf  
MOR-16

NOV 12 1975

STAFF OFFICE  
ATTORNEY GENERAL

62-716395-1137  
ENCLOSURE

5-140 (Rev. 1-21-74) FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20535

Addressee: Senate Select Committee

LTR  LHM  Memo  Report dated 11/19/75

Caption of Document: Re SSC request 11/11/75 which requested the DeLoach memo concerning the 1964 Democratic National Convention.

Originating Office: FBI

Delivered by: [Signature] Date: Nov. 21, 1975

Received by: [Signature]

Title: [Signature]

Return this receipt to the Intelligence Division, FBI

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 10/24/2000 BY SP2AUM/lmf  
MAR-16

62-1-3-1131



TO: Intelligence Community Staff  
ATTN: Central Index

FROM:  
**FBI**

SUBJECT: Abstract of Information Provided to Select Committees

1. HOW PROVIDED (check appropriate term. If a document was made available for review but not transmitted, so note.)

2. DATE PROVIDED

DOCUMENT     BRIEFING     INTERVIEW     TESTIMONY     OTHER

**11/19/75**

3. TO WHOM PROVIDED (check appropriate term; add specific names if appropriate)

SSC  
 HSC

4. IDENTIFICATION (provide descriptive data for documents; give name or identification number of briefer, interviewee, testifier and subject)

**Memorandum and enclosures**

5. IN RESPONSE TO (list date and item number if in response to formal request, otherwise state verbal request of (name), initiative, subpoena, etc.)

**SSC letter 11/11/75**

6. CLASSIFICATION OF INFORMATION (enter U, C, S, TS or Codeword)

**U**

7. KEY WORDS (enter the appropriate key words from the list provided separately; if key words not listed are used underline for emphasis)

**Surveillance, electronic  
Information handling  
Intelligence collection**

8. SUMMARY (see reverse side before completing this item)

Furnished a copy of C.D. DeLoach memo to Mr. Mohr, 8/29/64 captioned "Special Squad, Atlantic City, N.J., Democratic National Convention 8/22-28/64 and its enclosures which represent 1964 DNC daily summaries submitted to the White House Aide Walter Jenkins.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 10/14/00 BY SP2 NVM/MLR  
MOR-1/6

62-116395  
FMK:fmk  
(4)

**ORIGINAL VIA LIAISON TO CENTRAL COMMUNITY INDEX  
IN CONNECTION WITH SENSTUDY 75**

**TREAT AS YELLOW**

~~DEC 5 1975~~  
5-10

## INSTRUCTIONS

- Type or print clearly in ink.
- Indicate classification of the abstract top and bottom.
- Date the abstract and put on any internal control numbers required.
- "FROM" entry should clearly identify the organization providing the information.
- If additions (as when a copy of document sent to SSC is later sent to HSC) or changes to a previously submitted form are necessary, submit a copy of the original abstract, with the change indicated.

SPECIFIC ITEM NO. 8. SUMMARY - enter brief narrative statement describing substance of information and showing relationship to Intelligence Community matters if appropriate. Any feedback or evidence of investigatory interests should be noted. Commitments made to supply additional information should be noted. Additionally, certain administrative information may be entered here, e.g., restrictions on review of a document, if document was paraphrased, whether interviewee is current or former employee, etc. If actual document or transcript is provided, that fact should be noted and no summary is required. Additional pages may be attached if necessary.

2 - Mr. J. A. Minz  
 (1 - Mr. J. B. Hotis)  
 1 - Mr. W. R. Wannall  
 1 - Mr. W. O. Cregar  
 1 - Mr. A. J. Duffin  
 1 - Mr. J. W. Johnson  
 November 18, 1975

The Attorney General

Director, FBI

U. S. SENATE SELECT COMMITTEE  
 ON INTELLIGENCE ACTIVITIES (SSC)

Reference is made to the request of the SSC dated November 14, 1975, for delivery of FBI materials.

Attached is a memorandum and its enclosures for your approval and forwarding to the Committee which is responsive to all items raised in referenced request. Also enclosed for your records is a copy of the memorandum prepared for the Committee.

Enclosures (6)

62-116395

1 - The Deputy Attorney General  
 Attention: Michael E. Shaheen, Jr.  
 Special Counsel for  
 Intelligence Coordination

JWJ:emg/lhb/lhb  
 (10)

11-19-75  
 11-18-75  
 11-19-75  
 Mr. Minz

*[Handwritten signature]*

- Assoc. Dir. \_\_\_\_\_
- Dep. AD Adm. \_\_\_\_\_
- Dep. AD Inv. \_\_\_\_\_
- Asst. Dir.:
- Admin. \_\_\_\_\_
- Comp. Syst. \_\_\_\_\_
- Ext. Affairs \_\_\_\_\_
- Files & Com. \_\_\_\_\_
- Gen. Inv. \_\_\_\_\_
- Ident. \_\_\_\_\_
- Inspection \_\_\_\_\_
- Intell. \_\_\_\_\_
- Laboratory \_\_\_\_\_
- Plan. & Eval. \_\_\_\_\_
- Spec. Inv. \_\_\_\_\_
- Training \_\_\_\_\_
- Legal Coun. \_\_\_\_\_
- Telephone Rm. \_\_\_\_\_
- Director Sec'y \_\_\_\_\_

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 DATE 12/20/00 BY SP2 NML/MLF  
 MOR-16

REC-7 2-11-5-1136

DEC 5 1975

5-1000  
 JWJ

- 2 - Mr. J. A. Mintz  
(1 - Mr. J. B. Hotis)
- 1 - Mr. W. R. Wannall
- 1 - Mr. W. O. Cregar
- 1 - Mr. A. J. Duffin
- 1 - Mr. J. W. Johnson

62-116395

November 18, 1975

**U. S. SENATE SELECT COMMITTEE TO  
STUDY GOVERNMENTAL OPERATIONS WITH  
RESPECT TO INTELLIGENCE ACTIVITIES (SSC)**

Reference is made to the November 14, 1975, request by the SSC for delivery of FBI materials.

The purpose of this memorandum is to effect delivery to the SSC of the following documents which are responsive to the above request:

1) Memorandum from T. E. Bishop to Mr. Mohr dated July 6, 1971, with a 2-page enclosure.

2) Memorandum from M. A. Jones to Mr. Bishop dated February 26, 1968, with a 16-page enclosure.

**Enclosures (4)**

1 - The Attorney General

JWJ:emg/lhb/lhb  
(9)

ORIGINAL AND ONE COPY TO AG

NOTE:

The material being delivered to the Attorney General and the SSC is responsive to their request dated 11/14/75, a copy of which is attached.

- Assoc. Dir. \_\_\_\_\_
- Dep. AD Adm. \_\_\_\_\_
- Dep. AD Inv. \_\_\_\_\_
- Asst. Dir.:
- Admin. \_\_\_\_\_
- Comp. Syst. \_\_\_\_\_
- Ext. Affairs \_\_\_\_\_
- Files & Com. \_\_\_\_\_
- Gen. Inv. \_\_\_\_\_
- Ident. \_\_\_\_\_
- Inspection \_\_\_\_\_
- Intell. \_\_\_\_\_
- Laboratory \_\_\_\_\_
- Plan. & Eval. \_\_\_\_\_
- Spec. Inv. \_\_\_\_\_
- Training \_\_\_\_\_
- Legal Coun. \_\_\_\_\_
- Telephone Rm. \_\_\_\_\_
- Director Sec'y \_\_\_\_\_

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DATE 04/00 BY SP2RUM/lmf  
MDR-16

MAIL ROOM

TELETYPE UNIT

5-140 (Rev. 1-21-74) FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20535

Addressee: SENATE SELECT COMMITTEE

TR  LHM  Memo  Report dated 11/18/75

U. S. Senate Select Committee on Intelligence  
Caption of Document: Activities (SSC). (11/14/75 SSC  
request for delivery of FBI materials.)

Originating Office: FBI

Delivered by: Richard J. Taylor Date: 11/19/75 <sup>1052</sup>

Received by: Florence Hoben

Title: clerk

Return this receipt to the Intelligence Division, FBI

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 10/24/2000 BY SP3 RML/mt  
MOR-16

ENCLOSURE

62-116395-1136

WALTER D. HUDDLESTON, KY.  
ROBERT MORGAN, N.C.  
GARY HART, COLO.

CHARLES MC C. MATHIAS, JR., MD.  
RICHARD S. SCHWEIKER, PA.

# United States Senate

SELECT COMMITTEE  
STUDY GOVERNMENTAL OPERATIONS WITH  
RESPECT TO INTELLIGENCE ACTIVITIES

(PURSUANT TO S. RES. 21, 94TH CONGRESS)

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510

WILLIAM G. MILLS, STAFF DIRECTOR  
FREDERICK A. O. SCHWARZ, JR., CHIEF OF STAFF  
CURTIS R. SMOTHERS, MINORITY COUNCILOR

November 14, 1975

HAND DELIVERED

Michael Shaheen, Esq.  
Special Counsel for Intelligence Coordination  
Office of the Deputy Attorney General  
U. S. Department of Justice  
Washington, D. C. 20530

Dear Mike:

The Select Committee requests immediate delivery of pertinent material pertaining to the attached. You will note that Mr. Colson's attorney took handwritten notes on two FBI documents dated July 6, 1971 and February 26, 1968. The Committee requests this material for use at its public hearing on Tuesday. A copy of this letter is being sent to Mr. Cregar at the FBI.

Sincerely,

John Elliff  
Director, Domestic Intelligence  
Task Force

Attachment

cc: Mr. William Cregar

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 10/24/2000 BY SP4 RMM/MLC  
MOR-16

*Rec'd 11:15 am  
11/14/75*

ENCLOSURE 62-116395-136

*let to AG 1-DAC  
JWJ:cmg/11/16 11/17/75  
Enc. 6*

DICKSTEIN, SILAPRO & MORIN

THE OCTAGON BUILDING  
1735 NEW YORK AVENUE, N. W.  
WASHINGTON, D. C 20006  
202 785-0700

NEW YORK OFFICE  
745 FIFTH AVENUE  
NEW YORK, N. Y. 10022  
212 872 1500  
  
BOSTON OFFICE  
ONE BOSTON PLACE  
BOSTON, MASS. 02109  
617 723-8100

CHARLES A. MORIN  
DAVID I. SHAPIRO  
MORTY E. DICKSTEIN  
JULIA A. J. CHARA  
ARTHUR J. GALLIGAN  
JUDAH LEVY  
HENRY C. CASHEN II  
JAMES W. SPRINGER  
RICHARD J. TELL  
THOMAS W. MACK  
GORDON P. RAYSEY  
ARTHUR D. MASON  
FREDERICK M. LOWTHER  
ROBERT J. HIGINS  
SEYMOUR GLANZER  
M. J. MINTZ  
IRA H. POLOH  
KENNETH L. ADAMS  
ALAN E. PICK  
IRA R. HITZNER  
WILLIAM SILVERMAN  
RICHARD P. PERRIN  
GEORGE T. BOGGS  
JOEL B. KLEINMAN  
\* (NOT ADM. IN D. C.)

May 9, 1975

Mr. William Schwartz  
Commission on CIA Activities  
Within the United States  
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Bill:

Enclosed are several documents referred to by Mr. Colson and myself in the course of his recent sworn deposition at your office. In each case, what is provided is a typed version of my rough handwritten notes. Those notes were prepared by me approximately a year ago, when I was given access to the underlying documents by the Watergate Special Prosecution Force in the course of pretrial discovery in United States v. Ehrlichman, et. al.

The documents are as follows:

1. Several FBI memos and reports concerning Leonard Boudin. The text of the first report (dated July 6, 1971) indicates that derogatory information about Mr. Boudin had been furnished by the FBI to Ray McHugh of the Copley News Service. Although I do not have a copy, there exists in Mr. Colson's White House files a memorandum from John Dean to Charles Colson, dated July 20, 1971, transmitting to Colson a copy of McHugh's article. As you know, Mr. Colson served seven months in prison for furnishing to Jerry terHorst a report on Mr. Boudin prepared by Howard Hunt from these FBI materials.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 10/24/2000 BY SP2 NLM/mr  
moe-16

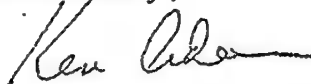
Mr. William Schwartzler  
May 9, 1975  
Page 2

2. A memorandum listing projects of the Room 16 Unit in progress as of August 10, 1971, and the person or persons in charge of each project.
3. A portion of the CIA's July 8, 1971 assessment of the damage resulting from publication of the Pentagon Papers.
4. Summary of a transcript of a telephone conversation between John Ehrlichman and Richard Helms on July 24, 1971, in which Helms advises Ehrlichman that certain sensitive CIA files will be made available to the White House, but only to the President, Henry Kissinger and Ehrlichman, and specifically not to Howard Hunt.

JYE

I hope you will find these documents of interest. If Mr. Colson or I can provide the Commission with any further assistance, please let me know.

Sincerely,



Kenneth L. Adams

Attachments

KLA/tcc



(Typed from handwritten notes.)

(Apparently an FBI report on Boudin - dated 7/6/71.)

Mr. Mohr:

Re: Leonard B. Boudin  
Attorney for Daniel Ellsberg

By memorandum to R. D. Cotter to C. D. B. Brennan dated June 28, 1971, it was recommended and approved that pertinent information concerning Boudin's sympathy for communist causes be used in connection with the Mass Media Program.

Information concerning Boudin's sympathy for communist causes was called to the attention of Ray. McHugh, Chief of the Washington Bureau, Copley News Services, by Crime Records Division. Attached is a copy of a release prepared by McHugh dated 7/1/71 concerning Boudin. It puts Boudin in the proper light as a communist and Soviet apologist.

Enc.

1 Mr. Mohr  
1 Mr. Sullivan  
1 Mr. Bishop  
1 C. D. Brennan  
1 R. D. Cotter  
1 M. A. Jones

(handwritten notes at bottom of report indicated that copies were sent to H. R. Haldeman, the Attorney General and the Deputy Attorney General)

[Attached to the above report are the following documents:

1. A three-page report by "JMS", dated June 28, 1971, concerning Messrs. Boudin and Nesson. At the conclusion of the memo the following words appear: "Action: For the Director's Information."
2. An undated report by "JMS" concerning Leonard Boudin.
3. A form indicating that the above reports are secret, and that Mr. Boudin's name is in "the Security Index". ]

**ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED**

**HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED**

DATE 10/24/00 BY SP2 pm/lmf

(Typed from handwritten notes.)

(Memorandum from Mr. Bishop to M. A. Jones, dated February 26, 1968 and typed on United States Government Memorandum stationery.)

The memo is entitled "Re Leonard Boudin, Attorney for Benjamin Spock. Information concerning." The author states that the subject (Boudin) is "well known to the Bureau", and that he has been identified as a member of the Communist Party in the past. The memo sets forth certain information about Boudin's alleged past activities, and states that the White House and the Attorney General have been advised of this. The memo concludes with the following:

"Recommendation: that approval be given to furnishing the attached information to one of our friendly newspaper contacts."

The memo indicates that copies were sent to Messrs. DeLoach, Bishop, Gale and Sullivan. Attached to the memo is a February 28, 1968 report titled "Dr. Benjamin Spock"; the portions of that report concerning Leonard Boudin are highlighted.

July 6, 1971

Mr. Mohr:

Re: LEONARD B. BOUDIN  
ATTORNEY FOR DANIEL ELLSBERG

Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Brennan	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Dalbey	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Walters	_____
Mr. Soyars	_____
Mr. Weaver	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

By memorandum R. D. Cotter to C. D. Brennan dated June 28, 1971, it was recommended and approved that pertinent information concerning Boudin's sympathy for communist causes be used in connection with the Mass Media Program.

Information concerning the sympathy of Boudin for communist causes, his legal services in behalf of an accused soviet espionage agent and his position as legal representative of the Castro Cuban Government in this country for a decade, was called to the attention of Ray McHugh, Chief of the Washington Bureau, Copley News Service, by the Crime Records Division. Attached is a copy of a release prepared by McHugh dated July 1, 1971, concerning Boudin. This news release certainly puts Boudin in his proper light as a communist and soviet apologist.

ACTION

For information.

Enc.

- 1 - Mr. Mohr
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. Bishop
- 1 - Mr. C. D. Brennan
- 1 - Mr. R. D. Cotter
- 1 - Mr. M. A. Jones

T. E. Bishop

REC-33 / 100-359439-256  
RW

22 JUL 14 1971

ENCLOSURE  
JFB:asg

(7)

JUL 14 1971

let to Nildeman

Send copies of attached to Nildeman, A.G. & WBS

SECRET

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DATE 10/24/2000 BY SP8AM/UMC

62-116395-1156

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BY RAY MCHUGH  
CHIEF, WASHINGTON BUREAU  
COPLEY NEWS SERVICE

WASHINGTON--THE ATTORNEY FOR DAVID ELLSBERG IN THE CASE OF THE PURLOINED PENTAGON PAPERS HAS FIGURED FOR MORE THAN 30 YEARS IN GOVERNMENT INVESTIGATIONS OF ALLEGED COMMUNIST AND COMMUNIST-FRONT ORGANIZATIONS.

NOW A VISITING PROFESSOR ON CONSTITUTIONAL LAW AT HARVARD UNIVERSITY, LEONARD B. BOUDIN FOR 20 YEARS HAS BEEN GENERAL COUNSEL --BUT NOT A MEMBER--OF THE EMERGENCY CIVIL LIBERTIES COMMITTEE THAT HAS BEEN CITED AS A COMMUNIST FRONT ORGANIZATION BY THE HOUSE COMMITTEE ON UNAMERICAN ACTIVITIES, THE SENATE INTERNAL SECURITY SUBCOMMITTEE AND BY FBI DIRECTOR J. EDGAR HOOVER.

BOUDIN'S DAUGHTER KATHY IS WANTED ON AN FBI WARRANT IN CONNECTION WITH INVESTIGATION OF THE ACTIVITIES OF THE WEATHERMAN FACTION OF THE RADICAL STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY. SHE WAS ARRESTED DURING DISTURBANCES AT THE DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION IN CHICAGO IN 1968, AGAIN DURING WEATHERMEN'S "DAYS OF RAGE" IN CHICAGO IN OCTOBER OF 1969. SHE HAS BEEN MISSING SINCE THE MARCH 6, 1970, BOMB EXPLOSION IN A GREENWICH VILLAGE TOWNHOUSE IN WHICH THREE WEATHERMEN MEMBERS DIED.

HIS DAUGHTER ALSO IS ONE OF THE CO-AUTHORS OF THE "BUST BOOK," A LEGAL HANDBOOK DESIGNED TO HELP NEW LEFT ACTIVISTS.

BOUDIN'S NEW YORK CITY LAW FIRM REPRESENTS FIDEL CASTRO AND THE CUBAN GOVERNMENT IN ALL LITIGATION AND LEGAL PROBLEMS INSIDE THE UNITED STATES AND BOUDIN HAS MADE SEVERAL TRIPS TO CUBA.

HE HAS DENIED UNDER OATH IN A CONGRESSIONAL HEARING THAT HE IS A MEMBER OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY.

IN HIS BOOK "MASTERS OF DECEIT," FBI DIRECTOR J. EDGAR HOOVER SAYS THE EMERGENCY CIVIL LIBERTIES COMMITTEE TOOK OVER THE WORK OF THE OLD CIVIL RIGHTS CONGRESS, "A WELL-KNOWN FRONT."

"IN OCTOBER, 1951, THE DAILY WORKER ANNOUNCED THE FORMATION OF THE EMERGENCY CIVIL LIBERTIES COMMITTEE WITH 150 FOUNDERS (FROM 39 STATES), INCLUDING 50 WHO WERE EDUCATORS, CLERGYMEN AND PROFESSIONALS," HOOVER WROTE.

"ONE OF THE COMMITTEES' FIRST OFFICIAL MOVES WAS TO PETITION THE NEW YORK STATE COMMISSIONER OF EDUCATION TO FORBID THE NEW YORK CITY BOARD OF EDUCATION FROM ENFORCING ITS NEWLY ENACTED BAN ON

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SUSPECTED COMMUNIST TEACHERS....

"IN 1956 THE SENATE INTERNAL SECURITY SUBCOMMITTEE AFTER IDENTIFYING THE EMERGENCY CIVIL LIBERTIES COMMITTEE, STATED, 'WHEN THE COMMUNIST PARTY ITSELF IS UNDER FIRE THESE FRONTS OFFER A BULWARK OF PROTECTION.'

"THE NAMES OF THE GROUP'S 150 FOUNDERS HAVE BEEN EXPLOITED BY THE PARTY TO FIGHT ITS BATTLES."

BOUDIN WAS DEFENSE ATTORNEY IN THE 1950 ESPIONAGE TRIAL OF JUDITH COPLON. THE "DAILY WORKER," A COMMUNIST NEWSPAPER, IDENTIFIED HIM AS ONE OF THE ATTORNEYS FOR PAUL ROBESON IN THE SINGER'S 1955 BID FOR A PASSPORT. ROBESON WAS LONG REGARDED AS A COMMUNIST SYMPATHIZER.

BOUDIN ALSO WAS AN ATTORNEY FOR THE VETERANS OF THE ABRAHAM LINCOLN BRIGADE IN AN UNSUCCESSFUL EFFORT TO HAVE THAT GROUP REMOVED FROM THE ATTORNEY'S GENERAL'S LIST OF SUBVERSIVE ORGANIZATIONS.

HIS NAME ALSO HAS BEEN CONNECTED WITH A NUMBER OF OTHER ALLEGED COMMUNIST FRONT GROUPS INCLUDING THE AMERICAN COMMITTEE FOR THE FOREIGN BORN, 1956; THE AMERICA RUSSIA INSTITUTE, 1944; THE JEFFERSON SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCE; THE NATIONAL COUNCIL AMERICAN-SOVIET FRIENDSHIP AND THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF THE ARTS, SCIENCES AND PROFESSIONS.

ON SEVERAL OCCASIONS BOUDIN HAS BEEN PUBLICLY IDENTIFIED AS AN OFFICIAL OF THE NATIONAL LAWYERS GUILD. THE HOUSE COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES IN 1950 CALLED THE GUILD "THE FOREMOST LEGAL BULWARK OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY, ITS FRONT ORGANIZATIONS AND THE CONTROLLED UNIONS."

IN 1968 HIS NAME APPEARED AS A SPONSOR OF AN AD IN THE NEW YORK TIMES SOLICITATING CONTRIBUTIONS FOR THE LEGAL EXPENSES OF BLACK PANTHER LEADER ELDRIDGE CLEAVER.

ACCORDING TO WASHINGTON SOURCES, HIS FIRST IDENTIFICATION WITH LEFTIST CAUSES CAME IN 1938 WHEN HE PUBLISHED AN ARTICLE IN "NEW MASSES." IN 1941 HIS NAME APPEARED AS A SIGNER OF A PETITION TO PRESIDENT FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT SUPPORTING AND DEFENDING THE COMMUNIST PARTY USA.

7/1/71-RM(RM)--731PM EDT

SA LA??

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

Tolson	_____
DeLoach	_____
Mohr	_____
Bishop	_____
Casper	_____
Callahan	_____
Conrad	_____
Felt	_____
Gale	_____
Rosen	_____
Sullivan	_____
Tavel	_____
Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Holmes	_____
Gandy	_____

TO : Mr. Bishop

FROM : M. A. Jones

DATE: 2/26/68

*cc of memo 2/28/68  
to Joseph Montewitz  
DSE, 7/16/73  
JRM  
6/10/1*

SUBJECT: LEONARD B. BOUDIN  
ATTORNEY FOR DR. BENJAMIN SPOCK  
INFORMATION CONCERNING

This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Committee. It is to be disseminated to official proceedings by your Committee and the contact may not be disclosed to unauthorized persons without the express approval of the FBI.

Leonard B. Boudin of the firm of Rabinowitz and Boudin, New York City, is listed as Spock's Attorney of Record in connection with Spock's recent indictment for conspiring to violate the Selective Service Act.

LEONARD Boudin is well known to the Bureau. He is on the Security Index and has been identified as a member of the Communist Party in the past. He is a registered agent for the Castro government and his history of affiliation with subversive activities dates back to the 1930's.

Attached is a memorandum setting forth public source information concerning Boudin's activities over the years. The White House and Attorney General have been advised.

RECOMMENDATION:

That approval be given to furnishing the attached information to one of our friendly newspaper contacts.

REG-19

100-3-1-1-241

*The entire 2-1-100*

6 SEP 6 1968

- 1 - Mr. DeLoach - Enclosure
- 1 - Mr. Bishop - Enclosure
- 1 - Mr. Gale - Enclosure
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan - Enclosure

TBC:emm (7)

*emm*

SEP 9 1968

*Will be used for...  
appeal on Spock...*

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DATE 10/24/2006 BY SP2 DM/ML

MDR-10

UNREC COPY AND COPY OF ENCL FILED IN 100-3-1-1-241

February 28, 1968

DR. BENJAMIN SPOCK

On January 5, 1968, Dr. Benjamin Spock was indicted in the United States District Court for the District of Massachusetts and charged with conspiring to violate the Selective Service Act.

Leonard B. Boudin of the firm of Rabinowitz and Boudin, 30 East 42nd Street, New York City, is listed as Spock's Attorney of Record.

A look into the background of Dr. Spock's attorney proves to be somewhat interesting.

Boudin was the recipient of much publicity in the 1950's in connection with an application which he filed for a passport to travel abroad. The passport was initially denied Boudin; however, the decision was later reversed and a passport was issued to him for travel abroad. At that time, then Secretary of State Dulles entered into the record a sworn affidavit which included the following statement:

"In the light of the number of pro-Communist associations and activities of the plaintiff (Boudin) over a lengthy period of time, including reliable reports as late as 1950 of actual membership in the Communist Party, I considered that these associations and activities,

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coupled with the plaintiff's refusal to state under oath whether or not he had been a member of the Communist Party prior to June 3, 1954, when he last received a passport, warranted me in concluding that he was still a supporter of the Communist movement and should be denied continued passport facilities under the established policy of Secretaries of State in recent years of refusing passports to supporters of the Communist movement."

Duiles listed a number of alleged associations and activities of Boudin "disclosed by or inferred from the Department of State files." Among them were:

"He was a member of the Communist Party in the 1930s and 1940s as well as a member of the Young Communist League.

"In 1936, he was a director of Science and Society, Inc., publishers of 'Science and Society,' an alleged Communist publication cited as such in 1944 by the special committee on Un-American Activities.

"In 1947, he was a member of the faculty of the Jefferson School of Social Science, cited by the Attorney General as Communist.



"From 1948 to 1950, in addition to being general counsel, he was an adviser in other than legal matters, and closely associated with the activities of the United Office and Professional Workers of America, a group expelled from the CIO in 1950 because of consistently pro-Communist policies and activities.

"He has from time to time contributed articles to the 'New Masses,' an official communist publication."

("New York Journal American," April 10, 1959)

A State Department spokesman has also asserted that Boudin was officially considered the attorney for Alger Hiss in connection with his application for a passport to travel abroad. Hiss, it will be recalled, was convicted of perjury relating to his denial that he had passed secret military and diplomatic documents to a Soviet agent. He served three years and eight months in prison.

("New York Journal American," April 10, 1959)

In 1964, Boudin and his partner, Victor Rabinowitz, after a ruling by the Supreme Court, were required to register under the Foreign Agents Registration Act as representatives of the Cuban Government. (UPI ticker No. 44, 3/30/64)

During Boudin's passport difficulties in 1956, he refused to say whether he had ever been a member of the Communist Party. He did state that he had not been a member since 1954, but refused to discuss previous years. ("New York Post," August 30, 1956)

Boudin has represented numerous individuals in litigations with the Department of State in connection with passport matters. Among these were Negro singer Paul Robeson, artist Rockwell Kent, Los Angeles psychiatrist Walter Eriehl, Dr. Otto Nathan, executor of Dr. Albert Einstein's will, and Harvey O'Connor in O'Connor's trial on contempt of Congress charges.

(100-339869 Public Source)

The "Daily Worker," an east coast communist newspaper dated March 5, 1941, page 9, column 2, carried an article: "Signers of Statement Defending the CP." This article listed Boudin's name among others as signing a petition defending the Communist Party.

An amicus curiaebrief was filed on February 6, 1950, by a number of attorneys with the Court of Appeals, Second Circuit, in connection with the appeal of the attorneys who represented the Communist leaders in the case U.S. vs. William Z. Foster, et al. The name Leonard B. Boudin was listed as one of the attorneys filing this brief.

The February 19, 1950, issue of "The Worker," page 3, column 2, reported under the heading: "Miss Coplon Fires Palmer, Gets 3 New Attorneys," that Judith Coplon fired her attorney Archibald Palmer and that Federal Judge Sylvester J. Ryan (United States District Court, Southern District of New York) designated Leonard Boudin as one of three attorneys to "pick up her defense in her current espionage conspiracy trial."

Judith Coplon was convicted in United States District Court, Southern District of New York, on March 7, 1950, and was sentenced March 9, 1950, for violating Section 794, Title 18, United States Code, and conspiring to violate Sections 793, 794, and 2071 of Title 18, United States Code. These convictions involved espionage activities in the United States on behalf of Soviet Russia.

On December 5, 1950, the Circuit Court of Appeals for the Second Circuit reversed the conviction and remanded the case for a new trial. The United States Supreme Court on January 28, 1952, refused to review either decision on writs of certiorari and the charges against her were subsequently dismissed.

A throwaway captioned "Belfrage Fight-Back Rally" was distributed at an American Labor Party election rally on September 23, 1954. This throwaway mentioned a rally scheduled to take place on September 30, 1954, at the City Center Casino, 135 West 55th Street, New York City, in behalf of Cedric Belfrage, "National Guardian" editor, who was involved in deportation proceedings instigated by the Immigration and Naturalization Service. Leonard Boudin was listed as a scheduled speaker at this rally.

The 1949 Report of the California Committee on Un-American Activities cited the "National Guardian" as a publication launched in New York in 1943, aiming at national circulation, which

they found to be from its inception notoriously Stalinist in its staff, writers, management and content. (The 1949 Report of the California Senate Fact-Finding Committee on Un-American Activities, page 394. The National Lawyers Guild (NLG) was cited as a

Communist front which "is the foremost legal bulwark of the Communist Party, its front organizations, and controlled unions"

and which "since its inception has never failed to rally to the legal (Congressional Committee on Un-American Activities Report defense of the Communist Party and individual members thereof,

on the National Lawyers Guild, House Report No. 3123, dated September 21, including known espionage agents."

1950, and originally released September 17, 1950.)

Volume 5, Book 1, of the "New York Guild Lawyer"

dated January 1, 1947, sets forth the 1946 officers of the New York City Chapter of the NLG. Listed as a member of the Board of Directors was Leonard B. Boudin.

The "New York Guild Lawyer," Volume 5, Number 6, dated June, 1947, on page 3, contained a summary of a radio address on "Pending Restrictive Labor Legislation" by Leonard B. Boudin, Chairman of the National Labor Law Committee of the NLG, which was delivered over Station WNYC on April 25, 1947.

"New York Guild Lawyer," 1948 issue, listed Leonard B. Boudin as one of the Officers and Directors of the New York Chapter of the NLG serving in 1948.

The "New York Guild Lawyer," Spring 1949 issue, listed the National Officers of the NLG at the 9th Annual Convention

held February 22, 1949, at Detroit, Michigan. Leonard B. Boudin, New York City, was listed as an Executive Board member.

It is to be noted that the "New York Guild Lawyer" is a periodical published quarterly by the National Lawyers Guild.

The "Daily Worker," May 5, 1950, page 4, column 5, carried an article which reflected that 300 lawyers from 200 cities across the Nation were scheduled to survey the problems of civil rights and other legal constitutional questions at the 10th Annual Convention of the National Lawyers Guild, opening that day in the Park Sheraton Hotel. Labor lawyer Leonard B. Boudin was to preside at the second morning session where the Taft-Hartley Law was to be discussed by attorneys for the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, the Packing House Workers of America, and the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America (UERMWA).

The "Directory of Labor Unions" in the United States for 1953, U. S. Department of Labor Bulletin Number 1127, page 5, states that the UERMWA is a labor union which was expelled from the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO) on charges of Communist infiltration on November 2, 1949.

The "Daily Worker," May 27, 1953, page 8, column 3, under the heading "Guild Reflects New York Lawyers Officers," reflects that Leonard B. Boudin was elected as a non-voting ex-officio

member of the Board of Directors of the New York Chapter of the NLG.

The June, 1954, issue of the "New York Guild Lawyer" reflected on page 1 that Leonard B. Boudin was an ex-officio member of the Board of Directors for the term 1954-55 in the New York Chapter of the NLG.

Writing in "Political Affairs" issue of August, 1954, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, convicted CP functionary, referred to the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee (ECLC) as one of the "forces carrying on the defense of the Bill of Rights today."

Concerning "Political Affairs," Flynn, testifying in the case "U.S. versus Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, et al" on October 20, 1952, stated that "Political Affairs" has been the theoretical organ of the Communist Party since the publication's beginning in 1945.

On April 5, 1954, the United States Court of Appeals for the Second Circuit, New York City, denied a motion by the ECLC for permission to file a brief amicus curiae in the case of the U.S. vs. Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, et al. "Exhibit A" filed as part of this brief was a list of members of the National Council of the ECLC. The name Boudin, Leonard - Lawyer, New York City, was listed thereon.

The "Daily Worker," July 21, 1954, page 3, column 1, under the caption: "Boudin Urges House Delay Brownell Bills,"

stated that Leonard Boudin, representing the ECLC, testified before the House Judiciary Subcommittee against the so-called Immunity Bill.

The "New York Times," April 12, 1955, page 25, columns 1 and 2, carried an advertisement of a conference sponsored by the ECLC to be held at Carnegie Hall, New York City, on Saturday, April 16th. The featured speaker at this conference was to be United States Senator William Langer. The advertisement sets forth five simultaneous forums to be held from 9:30 a. m. to 12 noon. Forum Number 3 - "Passports, the Right to Travel and World Understanding" lists Leonard B. Boudin as moderator.

The "Daily Worker" of August 19, 1955, page 2, column 5, carries an article captioned: "Actors' Off-Stage Courage Brings Audience to Feet." This article tells of two rallies sponsored by the ECLC at Carl Fisher Hall, 165 West 57th Street, New York City, and at Carnegie Hall, New York City, on August 17, 1955. This article stated that Leonard B. Boudin, General Counsel for the ECLC, addressed the above two rallies.

Leonard B. Boudin, Esquire, was listed as a sponsor on a program of an exhibition which was known as "The Right to Travel" Exhibition of Paintings, Lithographs and Engravings by Rockwell Kent which was to be held October 17-30, 1955, at "Art of Today" Gallery, New York City, and to be sponsored by the ECLC.

The program also listed under the heading "In Support of Rockwell Kent" the following statement: "In taking the case of Rockwell Kent as a test of the State Department's passport regulations, the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee is pleased to help a distinguished artist and even more the freedom of all Americans. We are proud of the victories so far won in the passport field by the ECLC and its General Counsel, Leonard B. Boudin. The court has upheld our thesis that so long as passports are necessary to travel, the right to travel carries with it, the right to a passport."

"Teachers News" dated January 14, 1956, page 2, column 3, carried an article captioned: "The Investigations." The article stated that the ECLC announced a meeting on Tuesday, January 17, at the Towers Hotel, 25 Clark Street, Brooklyn, at which Leonard Boudin, prominent attorney, will discuss "Civil Liberties and Congressional Committees."

The "National Guardian" dated February 27, 1956, page 11, column 1, carried an article calling attention to New York's first large meeting on the Smith Act to be held March 28th at Carnegie Hall. Leonard Boudin was listed as a speaker and the ECLC, 421 7th Avenue, was listed as the place to obtain tickets at the prices of \$1 and \$1.50.

The 1953 "Directory of Labor Unions in the U. S." published by the United States Department of Labor, lists on page 5,



the unions expelled by the CIO on charges that they were Communist dominated. The American Communications Association (ACA) was listed among the unions as being expelled on June 15, 1950.

The "Daily Worker" of May 2, 1943, page 5, column 7, carries an article which reflects that Leonard B. Boudin represented the ACA before the National Labor Relations Board on an unstated date.

The American Committee for Protection of the Foreign Born (ACFPB) has been designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

A throwaway announced that a meeting of the ACPFB was to be held at the City Center Casino in New York City on September 30, 1954. Leonard Boudin was listed as a scheduled speaker.

The "CIO News" issue of February 20, 1950, on page 6, column 1, contained an article reflecting that the CIO Executive Board had voted to expel the United Office and Professional Workers of America (UOPWA) from the CIO effective March 1, 1950. The board acted, according to the article, on a report filed by the Trial Committee appointed to hear the charges against the UOPWA. The Committee found "the policies and activities of the UOPWA followed and continued to follow exactly without deviation the program of the Communist Party..... Never in the history of the UOPWA has any policy ever been adopted which in any way runs counter to the policies of the CP or to the interest

of the Soviet Union as these interests are reflected in the program of the Communist Party."

The "Daily Worker," December 13, 1949, page 3, column 5, carried an article which reported that Louis Boudin was one of the counsel representing the UOPWA in its court plea to keep the CIO from going through with an expulsion trial of the UOPWA. The "Daily Worker" of December 15, 1949, page 8, column 2, carried a correction which stated that Louis Boudin as set forth in the December 13, 1949, issue was in error and the name was Leonard Boudin.

The "Daily Worker," December 21, 1949, page 9, column 2, carried an article captioned: "Defer CIO Trial of UOPWA." This article stated that the UOPWA's suit filed in the Federal Court of Washington, D. C., yesterday morning, was filed by its general counsel, Leonard Boudin.

The April 1, 1949, issue of "Career," the official publication of the UOPWA, on page 3, indicated Leonard Boudin to be the counsel for the UOPWA and the Chairman of the Labor Law Committee of the National Lawyers Guild, who testified before the House Labor Committee on March 15, 1949, regarding noncommunist affidavits.

The catalogue for the 1947 Winter term of the Jefferson School of Social Science reflected the name of Leonard B. Boudin as an instructor or guest lecturer.

"Science and Society" has been cited as a Communist publication by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report dated March 29, 1944, page 96.

The California Committee on Un-American Activities, Report of 1948, page 225, stated that "Science and Society" is among publications which the committee found "to be Communist initiated and controlled or so strongly Communist as to be in the Stalin solar system."

The Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, Report of 1938, pages 281 and 284, cited "Science and Society" as a Marxian quarterly distributed by the Communists' Progressive Book Shop in Boston, Massachusetts.

Records of the New York County Clerk's Office, New York City, disclosed that the incorporation papers for the corporation, Science and Society, Inc., were filed October 9, 1936. Listed among the Directors of this corporation was Leonard B. Boudin, 84-16 114th Street, Richmond Hill, Queens, New York.

The "National Guardian" issue of April 12, 1954, carried an article entitled: "Grandmother Gets Rosenberg Boys; College Dean Is Named Co-Guardian." This article mentions that Leonard Boudin was an attorney for the Rosenberg family and objected to Surrogate William T. Collins' naming Dean Kenneth D. Johnson of

the New School of Social Work as a dual "general guardian" of the Rosenberg children.

Julius and Ethel Rosenberg were convicted in the United States District Court, Southern District of New York, on March 29, 1951, of conspiracy to commit espionage on behalf of the Soviet Union. The Rosenbergs were sentenced to death on April 5, 1951. Julius and Ethel Rosenberg were legally executed at Sing Sing Prison, Ossining, New York, on June 19, 1953.

The "Daily People's World," dated September 26, 1949, in an article captioned "24 Groups Submit Briefs in 'Oath' Case," revealed that 24 organizations had filed amicus curiae briefs in the Los Angeles County loyalty oath case which was set for Supreme Court review. The article revealed that the United Defense Committee Against Loyalty Checks set out the organizations submitting the briefs and among the lawyers whose names appeared on the briefs was Leonard Boudin.

An article in the "Washington Star," Washington, D. C., dated 11-25-53, captioned "M'Carthy Calls New Witnesses In Army Radar Investigations", revealed that Joseph Levitsky, River Edge, N. J., who had refused on grounds of self-incrimination to say whether he was a CP member, and Harry Hyman were ordered to appear before the McCarthy Committee on above date. This demand brought on a dispute

- Folsom \_\_\_\_\_
- Bel. Gach \_\_\_\_\_
- Blair \_\_\_\_\_
- Bishop \_\_\_\_\_
- Casper \_\_\_\_\_
- Callahan \_\_\_\_\_
- Conrad \_\_\_\_\_
- Felt \_\_\_\_\_
- Gale \_\_\_\_\_
- Rosen \_\_\_\_\_
- Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_
- Tavel \_\_\_\_\_
- Trotter \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Holmes \_\_\_\_\_
- Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

with Leonard Boudin, NY attorney representing the two men. Boudin indicated he would ignore the demand to have Hyman appear before the hearing, to which McCarthy stated that he would cite Boudin for contempt if he failed to produce the witness.

An article in "The Worker" dated 3-8-64, captioned "A Tribute to Dr. Willard Uphaus" listed Leonard Boudin as one of the sponsors of a buffet-dinner and program on 3-15-64, the first anniversary of Uphaus' chairmanship of the Citizens Committee for Constitutional Liberties. The above affair was to be held at 27 Union Square West, New York City.

The "New York Herald Tribune" newspaper dated February 21, 1966, Page 3, contained an article entitled "ACLU Drops Bond Case As Castro Lawyers Enter," which read in part:

"The American Civil Liberties Union withdrew its legal support yesterday from Julian Bond, the Atlanta Negro denied his seat in the Georgia House of Representatives, after two New York City attorneys who once represented Fidel Castro became associated with the case.

"An ACLU spokesman said the policy of the organization is to provide counsel in cases concerning violation of constitutional guarantees, and for ACLU counsel 'to exercise full responsibility for the conduct of these cases.'

"The New York attorneys were identified as Victor Rabinowitz and Leonard Boudin, members of the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee."

The October, 1965, issue of "Newsletter," published by the New York City Chapter of the NLG, noted that a general membership meeting of the NLG would be held November 22, 1965, at the Henry Hudson Hotel, New York City. It further noted that Leonard Boudin would deliver a report to the meeting concerning decisions of the United States Supreme Court during the 1964-1965 term.

TO: Intelligence Community Staff  
ATTN: Central Index

FROM: **FBI**

SUBJECT: Abstract of Information Provided to Select Committees

1. HOW PROVIDED (check appropriate term. If a document was made available for review but not transmitted, so note.)

2. DATE PROVIDED

<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	DOCUMENT	<input type="checkbox"/>	BRIEFING	<input type="checkbox"/>	INTERVIEW	<input type="checkbox"/>	TESTIMONY	<input type="checkbox"/>	OTHER
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**11/18/75**

3. TO WHOM PROVIDED (check appropriate term; add specific names if appropriate)

<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	SSC
<input type="checkbox"/>	HSC

4. IDENTIFICATION (provide descriptive data for documents; give name or identification number of briefer, interviewee, testifier and subject)

**Memorandum and enclosures**

5. IN RESPONSE TO (list date and item number if in response to formal request, otherwise state verbal request of (name), initiative, subpoena, etc.)

**SSC letter 11/14/75**

6. CLASSIFICATION OF INFORMATION (enter U, C, S, TS or Codeword)

**U**

7. KEY WORDS (enter the appropriate key words from the list provided separately; if key words not listed are used underline for emphasis)

**Information handling**

8. SUMMARY (see reverse side before completing this item)

Two memorandums furnished, one from T.E. Bishop to Mr. Mohr, 7/6/71 with enclosures and from M.A. Jones to Mr. Bishop, 2/26/68 with enclosures, both pertain to Leonard B. Boudin.

62-116395

FMK: fmk  
(4)

**ORIGINAL VIA LIAISON TO CENTRAL COMMUNITY INDEX  
IN CONNECTION WITH SENSTUDY 75**

**TREAT AS YELLOW**

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DATE 6/24/2008 BY SP2 [signature]

5-701

## INSTRUCTIONS

- Type or print clearly in ink.
- Indicate classification of the abstract top and bottom.
- Date the abstract and put on any internal control numbers required.
- "FROM" entry should clearly identify the organization providing the information.
- If additions (as when a copy of document sent to SSC is later sent to HSC) or changes to a previously submitted form are necessary, submit a copy of the original abstract, with the change indicated.

SPECIFIC ITEM NO. 8. SUMMARY - enter brief narrative statement describing substance of information and showing relationship to Intelligence Community matters if appropriate. Any feedback or evidence of investigatory interests should be noted. Commitments made to supply additional information should be noted. Additionally, certain administrative information may be entered here, e.g., restrictions on review of a document, if document was paraphrased, whether interviewee is current or former employee, etc. If actual document or transcript is provided, that fact should be noted and no summary is required. Additional pages may be attached if necessary.



- 2 - Mr. J. A. Mintz  
(1 - Mr. J. B. Hotis)
- 1 - Mr. W. R. Wannall
- 1 - Mr. W. O. Cregar
- 1 - Mr. F. J. Cassidy

The Attorney General

November 17, 1975

Director, FBI

1 - Mr. D. K. Pettus

**UNITED STATES SENATE SELECT COMMITTEE  
TO STUDY GOVERNMENTAL OPERATIONS WITH  
RESPECT TO INTELLIGENCE ACTIVITIES (SSC)**

Reference is made to the letter addressed to Michael E. Shaheen, Jr., Special Counsel for Intelligence Coordination, from the SSC dated October 28, 1975, which contained a request for certain materials.

Attached for your approval and forwarding to the SSC is the original of a memorandum and eight enclosures which are responsive to item 5, a through g, of referenced letter.

A copy of the memorandum is provided for your records.

Enclosures - 10  
62-116395

1 - The Deputy Attorney General  
Attention: Michael E. Shaheen, Jr.  
Special Counsel for Intelligence Coordination

1 - 62-116009 (Cointelpros)

- Assoc. Dir. \_\_\_\_\_
- Dep. AD Adm. \_\_\_\_\_
- Dep. AD Inv. \_\_\_\_\_
- Asst. Dir.:
- Admin. \_\_\_\_\_
- Comp. Syst. \_\_\_\_\_
- Ext. Affairs \_\_\_\_\_
- Files & Com. \_\_\_\_\_
- Gen. Inv. \_\_\_\_\_
- Ident. \_\_\_\_\_
- Inspection \_\_\_\_\_
- Intell. \_\_\_\_\_
- Laboratory \_\_\_\_\_
- Plan. & Eval. \_\_\_\_\_
- Spec. Inv. \_\_\_\_\_
- Training \_\_\_\_\_
- Legal Coun. \_\_\_\_\_
- Telephone Rm. \_\_\_\_\_
- Director Sec'y \_\_\_\_\_

DKP:lfj  
(11)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
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DATE 10/23/2006 BY SP2 AUM/lme  
MDR-16

ENCLOSURE

"ENCLOSURE ATTACHED"

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UNREC COPY AND COPY OF ENCL FILED IN 62-116009-1135

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- 2 - Mr. J. A. Mintz  
(1 - Mr. J. B. Hotis)
- 1 - Mr. W. R. Wannall
- 1 - Mr. W. O. Cregar
- 1 - Mr. F. J. Cassidy
- 1 - Mr. D. K. Pettus

62-116395

November 17, 1975

**UNITED STATES SENATE SELECT COMMITTEE  
TO STUDY GOVERNMENTAL OPERATIONS  
WITH RESPECT TO INTELLIGENCE ACTIVITIES (SSC)**

**RE: REQUEST FOR DELIVERY OF  
MATERIALS RELATING TO  
COINTELPROS**

Reference is made to the letter of the SSC dated October 28, 1975, number 5, items a through g, requesting delivery of FBI materials pertaining to Counterintelligence Programs (Cointelpros).

The following is noted regarding this request:

a. A careful review of the files of this Bureau has failed to locate what might be described as "draft" statements prepared for Mr. Hoover's "off-the-record" testimony before the House Subcommittee on Appropriations concerning the Cointelpros. We are unable to furnish additional information prepared contemporaneously which would support the "off record" material previously furnished to the SSC.

b. Copies of the prepared and published testimony of former Director Hoover before the House Subcommittee on Appropriations for the years 1955 through 1972 are being forwarded to you separately.

c. Enclosed are copies of the Director's press statements dated December 7, 1973, and November 18, 1974, relating to Cointelpros. Also enclosed is a document entitled "Counterintelligence Program, Background Material," which sets forth information prepared in connection with the press release dated November 18, 1974.

- Assoc. Dir. \_\_\_\_\_
- Dep. AD Adm. \_\_\_\_\_
- Dep. AD Inv. \_\_\_\_\_
- Asst. Dir.:
- Admin. \_\_\_\_\_
- Comp. Syst. \_\_\_\_\_
- Ext. Affairs \_\_\_\_\_
- Files & Com. \_\_\_\_\_
- Gen. Inv. \_\_\_\_\_
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- Inspection \_\_\_\_\_
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- Laboratory \_\_\_\_\_
- Plan. & Eval. \_\_\_\_\_
- Spec. Inv. \_\_\_\_\_
- Training \_\_\_\_\_
- Legal Coun. \_\_\_\_\_
- Telephone Rm. \_\_\_\_\_
- Director Sec'y \_\_\_\_\_

1 - 62-116009 (Cointelpros)

DKP:lfj/lj  
(10)

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DATE 10/23/00 BY SP2 [signature]

SEE NOTE PAGE 3

MAIL ROOM  TELETYPE UNIT

ENCLOSURE

This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Committee. Its use is limited to official proceedings by your Committee and the content may not be disclosed to unauthorized personnel without the express approval of the FBI.

**United States Senate Select Committee  
To Study Governmental Operations with  
Respect to Intelligence Activities (SSC)**

**Re: Request for Delivery of Materials  
Relating to Cointelpros**

d. We are unable to locate any additional briefing book prepared for Mr. Hoover with respect to White House conferences or briefings or testimony to members of Congress regarding Cointelpros.

e. A review of appropriate files has developed no "squibs" or briefing papers (talking papers) prepared for Mr. Hoover's meetings with dignitaries wherein Cointelpros may have been discussed.

f. Enclosed are five letters directed by Mr. Hoover to Special Agents of this Bureau commending and affording incentive awards for their participation in Cointelpro activity. In the interest of privacy, these letters have been excised to protect the identities of the recipients.

g. A review of the files of this Bureau determined no copy was maintained of the transmittal form ("buck slip") utilized to forward the teletype captioned "Counterintelligence Program, Black Nationalist - Hate Groups." For your information it is not the practice of this Bureau to maintain copies of transmittal forms. The original copy of this teletype contains a notation indicating a carbon copy was furnished to the "IDIU," an abbreviation for the Interdepartmental Intelligence Unit of the Department of Justice. Additional notations indicate this dissemination to the IDIU was made by Special Agent Joseph A. Marion who at the time was a supervisor of the then Domestic Intelligence Division responsible for racial intelligence matters.

Enclosures - 8

1 - The Attorney General

- 2 -

United States Senate Select Committee  
To Study Governmental Operations with  
Respect to Intelligence Activities (SSC)

Re: Request for Delivery of Materials  
Relating to Cointelpros

NOTE:

See letter to the Attorney General dated 11/13/75,  
captioned "United States Senate Select Committee to Study Govern-  
mental Operations with Respect to Intelligence Activities (SSC),"  
prepared by DKP:lfj.

Regarding the incentive award letters, mentioned in  
item f above, it should be noted these are dated and were furnished  
to the following Special Agents, and are indicative of the commenda-  
tions and incentive awards made under this program.

Mr. Herbert K. Stallings, 2/5/64.  
Mr. Dwight M. Wells, Jr., 10/16/64.  
Mr. David Ryan, 12/4/64.  
Mr. David Paul Johnson, 4/13/66.  
Mr. William D. Neumann, 11/30/67.

TO: Intelligence Community Staff  
 ATTN: Central Index

FROM: **FBI**

SUBJECT: Abstract of Information Provided to Select Committees

1. HOW PROVIDED (check appropriate term. If a document was made available for review but not transmitted, so note.)

2. DATE PROVIDED

<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	DOCUMENT	<input type="checkbox"/>	BRIEFING	<input type="checkbox"/>	INTERVIEW	<input type="checkbox"/>	TESTIMONY	<input type="checkbox"/>	OTHER	<b>11/17/75</b>
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3. TO WHOM PROVIDED (check appropriate term; add specific names if appropriate)

<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	SSC
<input type="checkbox"/>	HSC

4. IDENTIFICATION (provide descriptive data for documents; give name or identification number of briefer, interviewee, testifier and subject)

**Memorandum and enclosures**

5. IN RESPONSE TO (list date and item number if in response to formal request, otherwise state verbal request of (name), initiative, subpoena, etc.)

**SSC letter 10/28/75, #5, a thru g**

6. CLASSIFICATION OF INFORMATION (enter U, C, S, TS or Codeword)

**U**

7. KEY WORDS (enter the appropriate key words from the list provided separately; if key words not listed are used underline for emphasis)

**Counterintelligence**

8. SUMMARY (see reverse side before completing this item)

**Furnished are copies of Director's press statements dated 12/7/73 and 11/18/74 relating to Cointelpros; also a document entitled "Counterintelligence Program, Background Material," prepared in connection with the press release; five letters directed by Mr. Hoover to SAs commending and affording incentive awards for their participation in Cointelpro activity.**

**62-116395**

**FMK:1hb ORIGINAL VIA LIAISON TO CENTRAL COMMUNITY INDEX IN (4) CONNECTION WITH SENSTUDY 75.**

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
 DATE 10/23/2000 BY SP2 DUM/mf  
 mDR-16

**TREAT AS YELLOW**

*5-17-75*

## INSTRUCTIONS

- Type or print clearly in ink.
- Indicate classification of the abstract top and bottom.
- Date the abstract and put on any internal control numbers required.
- "FROM" entry should clearly identify the organization providing the information.
- If additions (as when a copy of document sent to SSC is later sent to HSC) or changes to a previously submitted form are necessary, submit a copy of the original abstract, with the change indicated.

SPECIFIC ITEM NO. 8. SUMMARY - enter brief narrative statement describing substance of information and showing relationship to Intelligence Community matters if appropriate. Any feedback or evidence of investigatory interests should be noted. Commitments made to supply additional information should be noted. Additionally, certain administrative information may be entered here, e.g., restrictions on review of a document, if document was paraphrased, whether interviewee is current or former employee, etc. If actual document or transcript is provided, that fact should be noted and no summary is required. Additional pages may be attached if necessary.

DIRECTOR'S PRESS RELEASE, DECEMBER 7, 1973

FBI Director Clarence M. Kelley issued the following statement today:

As the result of a suit filed against the FBI under the Freedom of Information Act, the court has decided that certain documents must be made public concerning a former FBI program, which was known more commonly by its acronym, "COINTELPRO-New Left."

These documents were released yesterday to the plaintiff in the suit.

Because of the misconceptions, misapprehensions, and false conclusions that could be drawn from partial disclosure of this program, it is appropriate that I explain what the program was about and why it was deemed necessary when it was implemented in May, 1968.

In the late 1960's, a hard-core revolutionary movement which came to be known as the "New Left" set out, in its own words, to bring the Government to its knees through the use of force and violence.

What started as New Left movement chanting of Marxist-Leninist slogans in the early years of their "revolution" developed into violent contempt, not only for Government and Government officials, but for every responsible American citizen.

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DATE 10/25/2000 BY SP0RUM/DAF  
MOE-16

During these years, there were over 300 arsons or attempted arsons, 14 destructive bombings, 9 persons killed, and almost 600 injured on our college campuses alone. In the school year 1968-69, damage on college campuses exceeded 3 million dollars and in the next year mounted to an excess of 9.5 million.

In this atmosphere of lawlessness in the cities mobs overturned vehicles, set fires, and damaged public and private property. There were threats to sabotage power plants, to disrupt transportation and communications facilities. Intelligence sources informed the FBI of plans that were discussed to poison public water supplies.

At this time of national crisis, the Government would have been derelict in its duty had it not taken measures to protect the fabric of our society. The FBI has the responsibility of investigating allegations of criminal violations and gathering intelligence regarding threats to the country's security. Because of the violent actions of the leadership of the New Left, FBI officials concluded that some additional effort must be made to neutralize and disrupt this revolutionary movement. This effort was called the "Counterintelligence Program - New Left" or "COINTELPRO-New Left."

While there is no way to measure the effect of the FBI's attempt at countersubversion, I believe that it did have some impact on the crisis at that time.



Now, in the context of a different era where peace has returned to the college campuses and revolutionary forces no longer pose a major threat to peace and tranquility of our cities, some may deplore and condemn the FBI's use of a counterintelligence program--even against hostile and arrogant forces which openly sought to destroy this nation.

I share the public's deep concern about the citizen's right to privacy and the preservation of all rights guaranteed under the Constitution and Bill of Rights. I have expressed this concern on several occasions since becoming Director of the FBI.

The Acting Attorney General and I have discussed this situation, and we both agreed that an evaluation of FBI reactions in national security emergencies, already underway, should be continued. I plan to make a full report to the Attorney General.

While such a counterintelligence program may not be the answer, there must be some effective way for the Federal Government to meet the challenge posed by those who will use any means to foment revolution.

Mr. Bork and I both feel that perhaps additional legislation is required, and this is being given thorough study. We must carefully define FBI responsibilities and authority so that we can continue to fulfill the FBI's obligations to the citizens of the United States.



## UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

## FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20535

STATEMENT OF  
CLARENCE M. KELLEY  
DIRECTOR, FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
NOVEMBER 13, 1974

Attorney General William B. Saxbe today has released a report regarding FBI counterintelligence programs. The report was prepared by a Justice Department committee which included FBI representatives that was specially appointed early this year to study and report on those programs.

Since taking the oath of office as Director on July 9, 1973, I also have made a detailed study of these same FBI counterintelligence programs.

The first of them--one directed at the Communist Party, USA--was instituted in September, 1956. None of the programs was continued beyond April, 1971.

The purpose of these counterintelligence programs was to prevent dangerous, and even potentially deadly, acts against individuals, organizations, and institutions--both public and private--across the United States.

*This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Committee. Its use is limited to official proceedings by your Committee and the content may not be disclosed to unauthorized personnel without the express approval of the FBI.*

They were designed to counter the conspiratorial efforts of revolutionary elements in this country, as well as to neutralize extremists of both the Left and the Right who were threatening, and in many instances fomenting, acts of violence.

The study which I have made convinces me that the FBI employees involved in these programs acted entirely in good faith and within the bounds of what was expected of them by the President, the Attorney General, the Congress, and the American people.

Each of these counterintelligence programs bore the approval of the then-Director J. Edgar Hoover.

Proposals for courses of action to be taken under these programs were subject to approval in advance, as well as to constant review, by FBI Field Office and Headquarters officials.

Throughout the tenure of these programs, efforts admittedly were made to disrupt the anarchistic plans and activities of violence-prone groups whose publicly announced goal was to bring America to its knees. For the FBI to have done less under the circumstances would have been an abdication of its responsibilities to the American people.

Let me remind those who now criticize the FBI's actions that the United States Capitol was bombed; that other explosions rocked public and private offices and buildings; that rioters led by revolutionary extremists laid siege to military, industrial, and educational facilities; and that killings, maimings, and other atrocities accompanied such acts of violence from New England to California.

The victims of these acts of violence were human beings--men, women, and children who looked to the FBI and other law enforcement agencies to protect their lives, rights, and property. An important part of the FBI's response was to devise counterintelligence programs to minimize the threats and the fears confronting these citizens.

In carrying out its counterintelligence programs, the FBI received the personal encouragement of myriad citizens both within and without the Government. Many Americans feared for their own safety and for the safety of their Government. Others were revolted by the rhetoric of violence and the acts of violence that were being preached and practiced across our country by hard-core extremists.

I invite your attention to the attached background material which illustrates the gravity of the problem as it then existed, as well as the need for decisive and effective counteraction by the criminal justice and intelligence communities.

I want to assure you that Director Hoover did not conceal from superior authorities the fact that the FBI was engaging in neutralizing and disruptive tactics against revolutionary and violence-prone groups. For example, in a communication concerning a revolutionary organization that he sent to the then-Attorney General and the White House on May 8, 1958, Mr. Hoover furnished details of techniques utilized by the FBI to promote disruption of that organization.

A second communication calling attention to measures being employed as an adjunct to the FBI's regular investigative operations concerning this same revolutionary organization was sent to the Attorney General-designate and the Deputy Attorney General-designate by Mr. Hoover on January 10, 1961.

Mr. Hoover also sent communications to the then-Attorneys General in 1965, 1967, and 1969 furnishing them information regarding disruptive actions the FBI was employing to neutralize activities of certain Rightist hate groups.

I have previously expressed my feeling that the FBI's counterintelligence programs had an impact on the crises of the time and, therefore, that they helped to bring about a favorable change in this country.

As I said in December, 1973:

"Now, in the context of a different era where peace has returned to the college campuses and revolutionary forces no longer pose a major threat to peace and tranquility of our cities, some may deplore and condemn the FBI's use of a counterintelligence program--even against hostile and arrogant forces which openly sought to destroy this nation.

"I share the public's deep concern about the citizen's right to privacy and the preservation of all rights guaranteed under the Constitution and Bill of Rights."

My position remains unchanged.

## COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM

### BACKGROUND MATERIAL

#### I. Introduction

The FBI's counterintelligence program was developed in response to needs at the time to quickly neutralize organizations and individuals who were advocating and fomenting urban violence and campus disorder. The riots which swept America's urban centers, beginning in 1965, were quickly followed by violent disorders which paralyzed college campuses. Both situations led to calls for action by alarmed Government leaders and a frightened citizenry.

#### II. Tenor of the Times

An Associated Press survey noted that, during the first nine months of 1967, racial violence in 67 cities resulted in 85 deaths, injuries to 3,200 people and property damage of over \$100,000,000. The February, 1970, issue of "Security World" stated that during the period January 1 to August 31, 1969, losses specifically traced to campus disorders amounted to \$8,946,972.

In March, 1965, then Senator Robert F. Kennedy predicted more violence in the South and North after Congress passed voting rights legislation. Kennedy said, "I don't care what legislation is passed--we are going to have problems... violence."

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A United Press International release on December 5, 1967, quoted Pennsylvania's Governor Raymond P. Shafer as warning that "urban disaster" in the form of "total urban warfare" is waiting in the wings to strike if the race problem is not solved in the Nation's cities.

Attorney General Ramsey Clark reported to President Johnson on January 12, 1968, according to the "Washington Star," that extremist activity to foment "rebellion in urban ghettos" has put a severe strain on the FBI and other Justice Department resources. Clark called this "the most difficult intelligence problem" in the Justice Department.

A United Press International release on February 13, 1968, stated that President Johnson expected further turmoil in the cities and "several bad summers" before the Nation's urban problems are solved.

### III. Calls to Action

President Lyndon Johnson said in a television address to the Nation on July 24, 1967, in describing events that led to sending troops to Detroit during that city's riot, "We will not tolerate lawlessness. We will not endure violence. It matters not by whom it is done, or under what slogan or banner. It will not be tolerated." He called upon "all of our people in all of our cities" to "show by word and by deed that rioting, looting and public disorder will just not be tolerated."

In a second address to the Nation in just three days, President Johnson announced the appointment of a special Advisory Commission on



Civil Disorder to investigate origins of urban riots. The President said that this country had "endured a week such that no Nation should live through; a time of violence and tragedy." He declared that "the looting and arson and plunder and pillage which have occurred are not part of a civil rights protest." "It is no American right," said the President, to loot or burn or "fire rifles from the rooftops." Those in public responsibility have "an immediate" obligation "to end disorder," the President told the American people, by using "every means at our command...."

The President warned public officials that "if your response to these tragic events is only business-as-usual, you invite not only disaster but dishonor." President Johnson declared that "violence must ~~be stopped~~ quickly, finally and permanently" and he pledged "we will stop it."

House Speaker John W. McCormack said on July 24, 1967, after conferring with President Johnson that the President had told party leaders that "public order is the first business of Government." The next day, Senator Robert C. Byrd advocated "brutal force" to contain ~~urban rioting~~ and said adult looters should be "shot on the spot."

On April 12, 1968, Representative Clarence D. Long of Maryland urged J. Edgar Hoover in a letter and in a public statement to infiltrate extremist groups to head off future riots and said FBI Agents "could take people like Negro militants Stokely Carmichael and H. Rap Brown out of circulation."

The "St. Louis Globe--Democrat" in a February 14, 1969, editorial entitled, "Throw the Book at Campus Rioters," described campus disorders then sweeping the Nation as "a threat to the entire university educational system." This newspaper called on the Attorney General to "move now to stop these anti-American anarchists and communist stooges in their tracks. He should hit them with every weapon at his command.

The American people are fed up with such bearded, anarchist creeps and would applaud a strong drive against them. They have been coddled and given license to run roughshod over the rights of the majority of college students far too long. It is time to hit them hard with everything in the book."

On October 2, 1969, Senator Byrd said that "events in the news in the past few days concerning activities by militant radical groups should alert us to the new trouble that is brewing on the Nation's college campuses and elsewhere." Senator Byrd said that "all of us would do well to pay heed now, and law enforcement authorities should plan a course of action before the situation gets completely out of hand."

After the August 24, 1970, bombing at the University of Wisconsin, Madison, a group of faculty members called for disciplinary action against students involved in disruption and violence. In a statement delivered to the Chancellor, 867 faculty members said "the rising tide of intimidation and violence on the campuses in the last few years has made

normal educational and scholarly activities increasingly difficult. There has been a steady escalation of destructiveness that has culminated in an act of homicide. Academic freedom, meaning freedom of expression for all ideas and viewpoints, has been steadily eroded until now many are questioning whether it exists on the Madison campus." The faculty members said that "the acts of a few must not be allowed to endanger the rights and privileges of all members of the academic community."

"The New York Times" reported on October 11, 1970, on "The Urban Guerrillas--A New Phenomenon in the United States" and noted that the Senate Subcommittee on Internal Security recently heard four days of testimony on four bills aimed at "crushing the urban guerrillas," including one "that would make it a crime to belong to or aid organizations advocating terrorism, and would prohibit the publication of periodicals that advocate violence against police and the overthrow of the Government."

The President's Commission on Campus Unrest in detailing "the law enforcement response" noted that "it is an undoubted fact that on some campuses there are men and women who plot, all too often successfully, to burn and bomb, and sometimes to maim and kill. The police must attempt to determine whether or not such a plot is in progress, and, if it is, they must attempt to thwart it."

Finally, Allan C. Brownfeld, a faculty member at the University of Maryland, writing in "Christian Economics," February 11, 1970, on "The New Left and the Politics of Confrontation" noted that "in many

instances, those extremists who have fomented disorder have been in violation of state and Federal statutes." But, Mr. Brownfeld noted, "what is often missing is the will to prosecute and to bring such individuals before the bar of justice." Mr. Brownfeld's article was subcaptioned "A Society Which Will Not Defend Itself Against Anarchists Cannot Long Survive."

#### IV. Appropriations Testimony

On February 10, 1966, FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover testified regarding the Ku Klux Klan, saying that "the Bureau continues its program of penetrating the Klan at all levels and, I may say, has been quite successful in doing so. The Bureau's role in penetrating the Klan has received public attention due to the solution of the brutal murders of Viola Luizzo in Alabama, Lieutenant Colonel Lemuel A. Penn in Georgia and the three civil rights workers in Mississippi. We have achieved a number of other tangible accomplishments in this field, most of which are not publicly known but are most significant." Discussion off the record followed.

#### V. Public Support of the Counterintelligence Program

Following acknowledgement that the FBI had a counterintelligence program, syndicated columnist Victor Riesel wrote on June 15, 1973, "no apologies are due from those in the highest authority for secretly

developing a domestic counterrevolutionary intelligence stratagem in early 1970." Mr. Riesel detailed the record of "dead students," "university libraries in flames," and "insensate murdering of cops," and concluded "it would have been wrong not to have attempted to counter the sheer off-the-wall terrorism of the 1969-70 bomb seasons. And it would be wrong today. No one need apologize for counterrevolutionary action."

"Our reaction is that we are exceedingly glad he ordered it," wrote the "St. Louis Globe--Democrat" in a December 11, 1973, editorial on the counterintelligence program. This newspaper noted that "the Federal Bureau of Investigation under the late J. Edgar Hoover conducted a three-year campaign of counterintelligence 'to expose, disrupt, and neutralize' the New Left movement..." and that "many of these New Left groups were doing everything they could to undermine the Government and some of them resorted to bombings, street riots, and other gangster tactics. Others waged war on police across the Nation and on our system of justice. Still others disrupted the Nation's campuses. The Nation can be thankful it had a courageous and strong leader of the FBI to deal with the serious threats posed by New Left groups during this period."

On June 18, 1974, Eugene H. Methvin, Senior Editor, "The Reader's Digest," testified before the House Committee on Foreign Affairs regarding terrorism and noted, "...the FBI's counterintelligence

program against the extremist core of the New Left was a model of sophisticated, effective counter-terrorist law enforcement action first developed and applied with devastating effect against the Ku Klux Klan in the mid-1960's. In that context the strategy won great publicity and praise; yet now we have the Attorney General condemning it. In the current climate of justifiable revulsion over Watergate, we are in danger of crippling law enforcement intelligence in a hysteria of reverse-McCarthyism in which we close our eyes to evidence and some compelling necessities of domestic and international security."

C-142

*[Handwritten signature]*

February 5, 1964

PERSONAL

Mr. Herbert K. Stallings  
Federal Bureau of Investigation  
Chicago, Illinois

Dear Mr. Stallings:

It is a pleasure to commend you and to advise that I have approved an incentive award for you in the amount of \$150.00 in recognition of your superb performance in connection with a program of much interest to the Bureau in the security field. The enclosed check for \$123.00 represents this award less withholding tax.

You have discharged your responsibilities in connection with this matter with a high degree of imagination, ingenuity and initiative and the successful results achieved can be attributed largely to your splendid service. You have made most valuable contributions to this program and I want you to know of my sincere appreciation.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

Enclosure

1- SAC, Chicago (Personal Attention) Enclosure

Re: Counterintelligence Program

You should personally present this award and should this not be possible or should presentation be unreasonably delayed

by your absence official acting for you should present

1 - Miss Usilton (Sent Direct)

ET: (5)

Based on Chicago letter 1/24/64 and addenda Domestic Intelligence Division 1/28/64 and Administrative Division 1/30/64.

This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Committee. Its use is limited to official proceedings by your Committee and the content may not be disclosed to unauthorized personnel without the express approval of the FBI.

REC'D-READING ROOM  
FBI

MAILED 11  
FEB 5 1964  
COMM-FBI

- Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- Belmont \_\_\_\_\_
- Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
- Casper \_\_\_\_\_
- Callahan \_\_\_\_\_
- Conrad \_\_\_\_\_
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- Rosen \_\_\_\_\_
- Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_
- Tavel \_\_\_\_\_
- Trotter \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Holmes \_\_\_\_\_
- Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

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DATE 10/23/2000 BY SP2 AUM/wmf  
Award #491-64 MDR-16

This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Committee. Its use is limited to official proceedings by your Committee and the content may not be disclosed to unauthorized personnel without the express approval of the FBI.

October 16, 1964

PERSONAL

OCT 16 11 53 AM '64  
REC'D-READING ROOM  
FBI

Mr. Dwight M. Wells, Jr.  
Federal Bureau of Investigation  
Seattle, Washington

Dear Mr. Wells:

You are to be commended for your superior services in the supervision of a confidential matter of much significance to the Bureau in the security field and in recognition thereof I have approved an incentive award for you. There is enclosed a check which represents an award in the amount of \$150.00.

REC-144

67-451277-100  
Searched \_\_\_\_\_ Numbered \_\_\_\_\_

The enthusiasm, ingenuity and resourcefulness with which you carried out your responsibilities are of the highest caliber and, under your excellent guidance, this assignment was completed in a noteworthy fashion. Your outstanding performance is indicative of your dedication to your work and I want to express my appreciation for a job expertly handled.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

Enclosure

1 - SAC, Seattle (Personal Attention) Enclosure

Re: Communist Party, USA

Counterintelligence Program, IS-C

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 10/23/2000 BY SP2 AM/MLF  
MDR-16

You should personally present this award and should this not be possible or should presentation be unreasonably delayed by your absence official acting for you should present it. Inform employee net amount of check represents this award less withholding tax.

1 - Miss Usilton (Sent Direct)

ET:cks (5) Award #235-65 67-451277  
Based on memo Baumgardner-Sullivan 10-7-64 re: Communist Party, USA,  
Counterintelligence Program, Internal Security-C and addendum Administrative Division 10-12-64.

- Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- Belmont \_\_\_\_\_
- Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
- DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_
- Casper \_\_\_\_\_
- Callahan \_\_\_\_\_
- Conrad \_\_\_\_\_
- Evans \_\_\_\_\_
- Gale \_\_\_\_\_
- Rosen \_\_\_\_\_
- Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_
- Tavel \_\_\_\_\_
- Trotter \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Holmes \_\_\_\_\_
- Gandy \_\_\_\_\_



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December 4, 1964

PERSONAL

DEC 9 5 47 PM '64  
FBI  
RECEIVED READING ROOM

Mr. David Ryan  
Federal Bureau of Investigation  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Ryan:

Your services in connection with an operation of major interest to the Bureau in the security field were exceptional and I am very pleased to commend you and to advise that in recognition thereof I have approved an incentive award for you. This award in the amount of \$200.00 is represented by the enclosed check.

In handling the over-all supervision of this highly sensitive and confidential operation, you displayed the utmost resourcefulness and thoroughness. Your insight into the ramifications of this matter and your keenness in making necessary refinements to the investigative technique utilized were outstanding. Through your splendid efforts, you were responsible in no small measure for the success achieved and I want you to know of my appreciation.

MAILED 6  
DEC 3 - 1964  
Enclosure

Sincerely yours,  
J. Edgar Hoover

Re: Sullivan (Personal Attention) Enclosure  
Re: Communist Party, USA, Counterintelligence Program  
Internal Security - C

You should personally present this award and should this not be possible or should presentation be unreasonably delayed by your absence official acting for you should present it. Inform employee net amount of check represents this award less withholding tax.

- Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- Belmont \_\_\_\_\_
- Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
- DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_
- Casper \_\_\_\_\_
- Callahan \_\_\_\_\_
- Conrad \_\_\_\_\_
- Evans \_\_\_\_\_
- Gale \_\_\_\_\_
- Rosen \_\_\_\_\_
- Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_
- Tavel \_\_\_\_\_
- Trotter \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Holmes \_\_\_\_\_

1 - Miss Usilton (Sent Direct)  
CTP:et (5)  
67-461535 Award #319-65  
Based on memo Baumgardner to Sullivan 11/19/64 and addendum Administrative Division 11/30/64 re: "Communist Party, USA, Counterintelligence Program, Internal Security - C, (William Albertson)." 92

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 10/13/2000 BY SP-8/MLM/lmf  
11/16

April 13, 1966

PERSONAL

Mr. David Paul Johnson  
Federal Bureau of Investigation  
San Francisco, California

Dear Mr. Johnson:

Your performance in connection with a confidential operation of importance to the Bureau in the security field was outstanding and I want to commend you and advise that in recognition thereof I have approved an incentive award for you. A check representing an award of \$150.00 is enclosed.

The activities of a key agitator of a left-wing organization have been discredited as a direct result of your astute handling of a confidential source and the effective manner in which you acted on information you obtained. You exercised much skill, adroitness and resourcefulness in achieving this desirable objective and I do not want the occasion to pass without expressing my appreciation.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

REC-150  
SEARCHED SERIALIZED  
APR 18 1966

Enclosure

SAC, San Francisco (Personal Attention) Enclosure

Re: Francis Michael Medaille, aka, SM - C

You should personally present this award and should this not be possible or should presentation be unreasonably delayed by your absence official acting for you should present it. Inform employee net amount of check represents this award less withholding tax.

Miss Usilton (Sent Direct)

67-599286

Award#719-66

Based on memo Baumgardner-Sullivan 4/6/66; and addendum Administrative Division 4/7/66, re: CP, USA, Counterintelligence Program, IS - C.

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APR 13 10 00 PM '66

MAILED 4  
13 1966  
COMM-FBI

- Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_
- Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
- Wick \_\_\_\_\_
- Casper \_\_\_\_\_
- Callahan \_\_\_\_\_
- Conrad \_\_\_\_\_
- Felt \_\_\_\_\_
- Gale \_\_\_\_\_
- Rosen \_\_\_\_\_
- Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_
- Tavel \_\_\_\_\_
- Trotter \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
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DATE 10/23/2000 BY SP2 RUM/mrf  
MDR-16

November 30, 1967

PERSONAL

Mr. William D. Neumann  
Federal Bureau of Investigation  
Miami, Florida

Dear Mr. Neumann:

In connection with a counterintelligence undertaking which was most successful involving two racial groups of intense interest to the Bureau, I want to commend you and advise that I have approved an incentive award for you in the amount of \$150.00. The enclosed check represents this award.

You exhibited skill and initiative in performing your duties and, as a result of your splendid endeavors, the operations of two organizations have been disrupted. I do not want the occasion to pass without your knowing of my appreciation.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

67-542680-107  
SEARCHED INDEXED  
SERIALIZED FILED  
1 DEC 4 1967  
FBI - MIAMI

Enclosure

1 - SAC, Miami (Personal Attention) Enclosure

Re: National States Rights Party (NSRP); United Klans of America (UKA)

You should personally present this award and should this not be possible or should presentation be unreasonably delayed by your absence official acting for you should present it. Inform employee net amount of check represents this award less withholding tax.

1 - Miss Usilton (Sent Direct)

NLK (5) 67-542680 Award #400-68

Based on Moore-Sullivan memo 11/22/67 and addendum Admin. Div. 11/27/67 re SAs William D. Neumann, Leonard C. Peterson and Homer A. Newman, Jr.; Miami Division; Incentive Award Matter.

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DATE 10/23/2000 BY SP2 RUM/UMH  
mbr-16

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- Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_
- Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
- Bishop \_\_\_\_\_
- Casper \_\_\_\_\_
- Callahan \_\_\_\_\_
- Conrad \_\_\_\_\_
- Felt \_\_\_\_\_
- Gale \_\_\_\_\_
- Rosen \_\_\_\_\_
- Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_
- Tavel \_\_\_\_\_
- Trotter \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Holmes \_\_\_\_\_

DEC 5 1967  
GMM:FBI  
NOV 30 1967  
DocId:32989519 TELTYPE UNIT

February 5, 1964

Mr.  
Federal Bureau of Investigation  
Chicago, Illinois

Dear

It is a pleasure to commend you and to advise that I have approved an incentive award for you in the amount of \$150.00 in recognition of your superb performance in connection with a program of much interest to the Bureau in the security field. The enclosed check for \$125.00 represents this award less withholding tax.

You have discharged your responsibilities in connection with this matter with a high degree of imagination, ingenuity and initiative and the successful results achieved can be attributed largely to your splendid service. You have made most valuable contributions to this program and I want you to know of my sincere appreciation.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

Enclosure

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
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MOR-16

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October 16, 1964

PERSONAL

Mr.  
Federal Bureau of Investigation  
Seattle, Washington

Dear Mr. :

You are to be commended for your superior services in the supervision of a confidential matter of much significance to the Bureau in the security field and in recognition thereof I have approved an incentive award for you. There is enclosed a check which represents an award in the amount of \$150.00.

The enthusiasm, ingenuity and resourcefulness with which you carried out your responsibilities are of the highest caliber and, under your excellent guidance, this assignment was completed in a noteworthy fashion. Your outstanding performance is indicative of your dedication to your work and I want to express my appreciation for a job expertly handled.

Sincerely yours,  
L. Edgar Hoover

Enclosure

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
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DATE 10/23/2000 BY SP2000/mf  
MOR-16

*This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Committee. Its use is limited to official proceedings by your Committee and the content may not be disclosed to unauthorized personnel without the express approval of the FBI.*

December 4, 1964

PERSONAL

Mr.  
Federal Bureau of Investigation  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr.

Your services in connection with an operation of major interest to the Bureau in the security field were exceptional and I am very pleased to commend you and to advise that in recognition thereof I have approved an incentive award for you. This award in the amount of \$200.00 is represented by the enclosed check.

In handling the over-all supervision of this highly sensitive and confidential operation, you displayed the utmost resourcefulness and thoroughness. Your insight into the ramifications of this matter and your keenness in making necessary refinements to the investigative technique utilized were outstanding. Through your splendid efforts, you were responsible in no small measure for the success achieved and I want you to know of my appreciation.

Enclosure

Sincerely yours,  
J. Edgar Hoover

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
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DATE 10/23/2008 BY SP2008/m/ha  
mo2-16

*This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Committee. Its use is limited to official proceedings by your Committee and the content may not be disclosed to unauthorized personnel without the express approval of the FBI.*

April 13, 1966

PERSONAL

Mr.  
Federal Bureau of Investigation  
San Francisco, California

Dear Mr.

Your performance in connection with a confidential operation of importance to the Bureau in the security field was outstanding and I want to commend you and advise that in recognition thereof I have approved an incentive award for you. A check representing an award of \$150.00 is enclosed.

The activities of a key agitator of a left-wing organization have been discredited as a direct result of your astute handling of a confidential source and the effective manner in which you acted on information you obtained. You exercised much skill, adroitness and resourcefulness in achieving this desirable objective and I do not want the occasion to pass without expressing my appreciation.

Sincerely yours

J. Edgar Hoover

Enclosure


ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
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DATE 10/23/2000 BY SP2/AM/MAF  
mde-16

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November 30, 1967

PERSONAL

Mr.  
Federal Bureau of Investigation  
Miami, Florida

Dear Mr. 

In connection with a counterintelligence undertaking which was most successful involving two racial groups of intense interest to the Bureau, I want to commend you and advise that I have approved an incentive award for you in the amount of \$150.00. The enclosed check represents this award.

You exhibited skill and initiative in performing your duties and, as a result of your splendid endeavors, the operations of two organizations have been disrupted. I do not want the occasion to pass without your knowing of my appreciation.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

Enclosure

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
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DATE 10/23/2000 BY SP2 RUM/maf  
mDR-16

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5-140 (Rev. 1-21-74) FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20535

Addressee: SENATE SELECT COMMITTEE

LTR  LHM  Memo  Report dated 11/17/75

U. S. Senate Select Committee on Intelligence  
Caption of Document: Activities (SSC). Re: Request For  
Delivery of Materials Relating to Cointelpro.)  
(SSClet 10/28/75, No. 5, a - g.)

Originating Office: FBI <sup>10-52</sup>

Delivered by: Richard J. Taylor - Date: 11/19/75

Received by: J. Lorense

Title: Clerk

Return this receipt to the Intelligence Division, FBI

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
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DATE 10/23/2000 BY SP2 kmj/lmf  
MDR-16

ENCLOSURE

STATEMENT OF ARTHUR MURTAGH  
BEFORE THE SELECT COMMITTEE ON INTELLIGENCE  
NOVEMBER 18, 1975

*Colonel*  
*Lundquist*  
*Mr. DeLoach*  
*Mr. Mohr*  
*Mr. Bishop*  
*Mr. Casper*

MR. CHAIRMAN AND MEMBERS OF THE COMMITTEE:

I WELCOME THIS OPPORTUNITY TO TESTIFY BEFORE YOU. AS A RETIRED FBI SPECIAL AGENT WHO LOYALLY SERVED THE BUREAU FOR 20 YEARS AND WHO WAS ASSIGNED TO THE FBI'S INTERNAL SECURITY INTELLIGENCE SQUAD IN ATLANTA FOR 10 YEARS, I WOULD HOPE I COULD GIVE THIS COMMITTEE INSIGHT INTO THE BUREAU'S INTELLIGENCE PRACTICES NOT FROM THE THEORETICAL VIEWPOINT OF A POLICY-MAKER BUT FROM THE PRACTICAL VIEWPOINT OF A FIELD AGENT.

*Sensitivity 1974*

THE THRUST OF MY COMMENTS WILL BE TO ATTEMPT TO HAVE YOU SEE THAT IT IS POSSIBLE FOR THE STRUCTURE OF AN ORGANIZATION SUCH AS THE BUREAU TO BE RESPONSIBLE FOR MUCH WRONGDOING WITHOUT ANY MEASURABLE CULPABILITY ON THE PART OF INDIVIDUALS WORKING IN THE LOWER LEVELS OF THE ORGANIZATION. FOR EXAMPLE, I WAS AT ONE TIME ASKED TO OBTAIN THROUGH MY INFORMANTS HANDWRITING SAMPLES OF A GENTLEMAN WHO IS NOW A MEMBER OF YOUR BODY, THE HONORABLE ANDREW YOUNG OF ATLANTA. I WAS ALSO ASKED TO OBTAIN HANDWRITING SAMPLES OF SEVERAL OF HIS ASSOCIATES IN DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING'S SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE. I WAS AN AGENT WITH LOTS OF EXPERIENCE AT THE TIME THIS REQUEST CAME TO ME FROM MY SUPERVISOR. I WAS AWARE THAT THE MANNER IN WHICH THE REQUEST WAS MADE WAS SUCH THAT THE INFORMATION WAS TO BE USED FOR ONE OF THE ILLEGAL PURPOSES OF THE BUREAU.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 10/03/2000 BY SP5/STW/jmf  
1975 mdr-16

INITIALS ON ORIGINAL

NOT RECORDED  
170 DEC 9 1975

NOT RECORDED  
3 DEC 9 1975

INITIALS ON ORIGINAL

THE REQUEST WAS MADE AFTER REGULAR WORKING HOURS ORALLY TO ME IN PRIVATE. I TURNED TO MY SUPERVISOR WHO WAS KNOWN AMONG THE AGENTS AS "COLONEL KLINK" AND TOLD HIM THAT I FLATLY REFUSED TO

ORIGINAL FILED IN 62-116464-197

*Revised*  
*62-116395*

*File 62-116464*

*5-8*

COMPLY WITH HIS REQUEST AND THAT HE COULD TELL HIS COUNTERPART AT THE BUREAU WHO HAD CALLED HIM ON THE WATCHLINE SEEKING THE INFORMATION THAT I KNEW DAMN WELL IT WAS GOING TO BE USED IN AN UNRECORDED COUNTERINTELLIGENCE OPERATION TO DESTROY MR. YOUNG'S CHANCES OF GETTING ELECTED TO THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES. THE REQUEST CAME ONLY A FEW DAYS AFTER MR. YOUNG HAD ANNOUNCED THAT HE WAS SEEKING A SEAT IN THE HOUSE.

MY SUPERVISOR'S REACTION WAS, "NOW DON'T GET EXCITED ART, WE WILL MANAGE SOME OTHER WAY." AND I RESPONDED "I SUPPOSE YOU WILL." AND I TOLD HIM THAT IF HIS COUNTERPART AT THE BUREAU WANTED TO FORCE THE ISSUE WE WOULD DO IT IN THE OPEN WITH LOTS OF PUBLICITY. THAT WAS THE LAST I HEARD OF THAT REQUEST FROM MY SUPERVISOR AND I NOTICED LATER THAT MR. YOUNG MADE IT TO YOUR AUGUST BODY SO I MUST ASSUME THAT MY SUPERVISOR HAD NO OTHER SOURCE AT THAT TIME THAT COULD GET THE INFORMATION FOR HIM. YOU, OF COURSE, WILL FIND NO RECORD OF THE ABOVE INCIDENT IN THE BUREAU FILES.

I AM COGNIZANT OF YOUR MANDATE TO INVESTIGATE THE INTELLIGENCE OPERATIONS OF THE BUREAU AND OF THE GREAT MASS OF INFORMATION THAT HAS ALREADY BEEN UNCOVERED REGARDING THESE OPERATIONS. I BELIEVE, HOWEVER, THAT A CLEAR AND PRECISE PICTURE OF THE BUREAU'S INTELLIGENCE PRACTICES CAN ONLY BE SEEN BY ANALYZING THE ADMINISTRATIVE STRUCTURE, THE ENTRENCHED BIASES AND THE PERVASIVE INDOCTRINATED FBI MENTALITY THAT COMMANDS AND CONTROLS THEIR INTELLIGENCE PRACTICES.

IN THE INCIDENT INVOLVING REPRESENTATIVE ANDREW YOUNG, IF THE SAME REQUEST HAD BEEN MADE TO MOST AGENTS WHO HAD REACHED THE LEVEL IN THE BUREAU THAT I WAS AT THAT TIME, THEY WOULD HAVE ROUTINELY

COMPLIED WITH THEIR SUPERVISOR'S REQUEST SIMPLY BECAUSE THEY WOULD HAVE GONE THROUGH A PROCESS WHICH WOULD HAVE ELIMINATED ALL THOSE WHO SAW ANYTHING WRONG WITH THE TYPE OF ACTIVITY CONTEMPLATED BY THEIR SUPERVISOR. THE OFT TIMES EXPRESSED FEELINGS OF ALL OF THE PERSONNEL WORKING IN CONJUNCTION WITH ME ON THE INTELLIGENCE SQUAD IN ATLANTA DURING THE PERIOD THAT THE YOUNG INCIDENT TOOK PLACE ACCOUNTS FOR THE FACT THAT THE INFORMATION REQUESTED WOULD HAVE BEEN ROUTINELY OBTAINED. THE FEELING WAS THAT THE RACIAL MOVEMENTS IN WHICH MR. YOUNG WAS ENGAGED, ALTHOUGH NOT ILLEGAL PER SE, WAS INIMICABLE TO THE VALUE STANDARDS THAT THE SQUAD MEMBERS SUBSCRIBED TO. IF IT TOOK A LITTLE ILLEGAL ACTIVITY TO COMPROMISE THE MOVEMENT, THEN SO BE IT. PAST EXPERIENCE HAD MADE IT CLEAR TO ALL AGENTS THAT MR. HOOVER HAD NO SYMPATHY WITH ANY RACIAL MOVEMENT.

YOU MAY JUSTLY INQUIRE AT THIS JUNCTURE HOW I HAPPENED TO SURVIVE IN THE BUREAU IF THESE SELECTION PROCESSES WEEDED THOSE IN OPPOSITION OUT. THE ANSWER WAS AND IS THAT I WAS BOTH STUBBORN AND SMART ENOUGH TO KEEP MY RECORD GOOD AND CLEAR AND THOSE AROUND ME KNEW IT. AS AN ATTORNEY AND SOMEONE WHO BELIEVED IN THE RULE OF LAW, I WOULDN'T CONFORM IF IT REQUIRED ME TO BE DISHONEST OR TO VIOLATE THE LAW AND I KNEW THE LAW. I CAN SORROWFULLY SAY THAT MY VIEWS WERE NOT SHARED BY MY PEERS IN THE BUREAU.

I JOINED THE FBI AS AN AGENT IN 1951 AND RETIRED IN 1971. BY 1957 THE WEAKNESSES IN THE STRUCTURE OF THE BUREAU HAD BECOME ALL TOO OBVIOUS TO ME. IN 1960 AS A RESULT OF ADMINISTRATIVE ACTION TAKEN AGAINST ME BY MR. HOOVER, ON ACCOUNT OF AN ALLEGED PROBLEM OF OVERWEIGHT, I FOUND MYSELF IN A YMCA ROOM IN MACON,

GEORGIA AWAY FROM MY FAMILY FOR A PERIOD OF ABOUT FIVE MONTHS. DURING THAT TIME I DID A GREAT DEAL OF SOULSEARCHING AND READING IN AN EFFORT TO MAKE A DECISION AS TO WHETHER I SHOULD LEAVE THE BUREAU AND ATTEMPT TO EXPOSE THE WEAKNESSES IN STRUCTURE OR STAY IN THE BUREAU AND WAIT FOR A MORE OPPORTUNE TIME WHEN THE PROBABILITY OF SUCCESS IN CORRECTING THESE WEAKNESSES WOULD BE GREATER. I DECIDED TO REMAIN AND OBSERVE BUT I RESOLVED THAT I WOULD UNDER NO CIRCUMSTANCES PARTICIPATE IN ANY OF THE UNETHICAL OR ILLEGAL ACTIVITIES THAT WERE BY THEN SO PREVALENT IN THE BUREAU.

I WAS ABLE TO OBSERVE FROM MY VANTAGE POINT IN THE FBI THAT THE BUREAU WAS ON A COLLISION COURSE OF COLLAPSE WHICH WOULD RESULT IN CONGRESSIONAL INVESTIGATION, AND I SAID SO OPENLY AMONG AGENT ASSOCIATES FROM 1960 ONWARD. I COUNSELLED WITH MANY, YES, PRACTICALLY ALL, OF THE AGENT PERSONNEL WITH WHOM I CAME IN CONTACT AT THIS TIME AND FOR THE REMAINING 11 YEARS THAT I SPENT IN THE BUREAU AND FOUND THAT THEY WERE VAGUELY AWARE IN 1960 OF THE PROCESS OF WHICH I SPEAK AND THEY WERE ACUTELY AWARE OF IT IN 1971.

THE INHERENT ADMINISTRATIVE PROCESSES WITHIN THE BUREAU WHICH I HAVE ALLUDED TO BEFORE, WHICH ADVERSELY AFFECT THE BUREAU'S INTELLIGENCE FUNCTIONS CAN BE SUMMARIZED AS FOLLOWS:

I. SECRECY

MR. HOOVER THREW A VEIL OF SECRECY OVER THE BUREAU AT ITS VERY INCEPTION THOUGH THE GREAT MASS OF INFORMATION HANDLED BY THE BUREAU COULD BE PLACED ON BILLBOARDS IN THE MIDDLE OF TIMES SQUARE AND THE PUBLIC INTEREST WOULD NOT BLOCK THE SIDEWALKS, BUT SECRECY SERVED MANY USEFUL PURPOSES

TO THE BUREAU. IT MADE IT IMPOSSIBLE FOR THE PUBLIC OR CONGRESS TO KNOW ANYTHING ABOUT WHAT WAS GOING ON INTERNALLY. IT GAVE THE BUREAU OPERATION AN AURA OF MYSTERY AND GENERATED A TYPE OF FEAR AND RESPECT FOR THE BUREAU WHICH I PERSONALLY FEEL IS UNHEALTHY IN A SOCIETY THAT STRIVES TO BE BOTH DEMOCRATIC AND OPEN.

## II. COMPLETE UNFETTERED CONTROL OF THE PROCESS OF SELECTING PERSONNEL.

THIS IS THE AREA TO WHICH YOUR COMMITTEE SHOULD DIRECT ITS GREATEST EFFORT; FOR IT WAS THROUGH A SELECTION PROCESS EXEMPT FROM CIVIL SERVICE UNDER THE SOLE CONTROL OF THE DIRECTOR THAT MR. HOOVER WAS ABLE OVER A PERIOD OF NEARLY 50 YEARS TO BRING IN THOUSANDS OF CAREFULLY SELECTED AGENT PERSONNEL WHO WERE POLITICALLY DISPOSED TO THE RIGHT AS HE WAS AND THEN THROUGH A PERSONNEL SYSTEM, WHICH OFFERED NO POSSIBILITY AT ALL FOR AN AGENT TO QUESTION HOOVER'S ETHICS AND METHODS, TO FORCE THOUSANDS OF THOSE SELECTED TO LEAVE THE BUREAU IN UTTER DISGUST SIMPLY BECAUSE THEY HAD NO AVENUE THROUGH WHICH THEY COULD AIR GRIEVANCES INVOLVING UNETHICAL OR ILLEGAL PRACTICES. FOR EXAMPLE, A YOUNG AGENT WHOM I KNOW WAS SENT TO ALBANY, GEORGIA FOR HIS FIRST OFFICE; HIS WIFE WAS A SOCIOLOGIST. SHE WAS OFFERED A POSITION IN THE HEAD START PROJECT IN ALBANY, GEORGIA THAT WAS UNDER THE DIRECTION OF A BLACK ATTORNEY NAMED KING. THE AGENT REPORTED THIS INFORMATION TO HIS SUPERIOR IN ALBANY. HE WAS IMMEDIATELY SUMMONED TO ATLANTA BY THE AGENT IN CHARGE AND TOLD THAT HIS WIFE COULD NOT TAKE THE JOB BECAUSE THEY DID NOT WANT FBI.

PERSONNEL OR THEIR WIVES ASSOCIATED WITH BLACKS WHO WERE ACTIVE IN THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENTS. THIS AGENT SUBSEQUENTLY RESIGNED IN DISGUST.

III. MANIPULATION AND CONTROL OF THE PRESS.

THE EXAMPLES OF THIS SUBJECT ARE LEGION. THE ONE THAT I AM MOST FAMILIAR WITH WAS THE CONCERTED EFFORT TO GET WHAT WAS ALWAYS REFERRED TO IN THE BUREAU AS "OUR FRIENDS IN THE MEDIA" TO PUBLISH PERSONAL AND VERY PRIVATE INFORMATION TAKEN FROM THE WIRETAP WHICH ITSELF WAS OF QUESTIONABLE LEGAL VALIDITY ON DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING. OF COURSE, THE DAY TO DAY MANIPULATION WAS ACCOMPLISHED BY LEAKING CHOICE ITEMS TO OUR "FRIENDS". IT WAS NOT AT ALL UNCOMMON TO LEARN OF SOME POLITICALLY DAMAGING INFORMATION ABOUT SOME LEADING FIGURE IN POLITICS AS HAVING BEEN DEVELOPED BY THE BUREAU AND THEN ALWAYS AT A TIME WHEN IT WOULD BE MOST DAMAGING TO THE INDIVIDUAL, THE INFORMATION WOULD SOME WAY SHOW UP IN THE CHICAGO TRIBUNE OR SOME OTHER FRIEND OF THE BUREAU. IF THE INFORMATION WAS MORE VALUABLE FOR PURPOSES OF POLITICAL BLACKMAIL BY HOLDING IT, THAN BY GIVING IT TO THE PRESS, IT WAS WITHHELD. THE LEAKED INFORMATION ALWAYS SEEMED TO INVOLVE PERSONS OF LIBERAL PERSUASION. (FROM MY YEARS IN THE BUREAU, I CAN ONLY ASSUME THAT THE BUREAU HAD DEDUCED THAT PERSONS OF LIBERAL PERSUASION ARE SOMEHOW MORE APT TO SLEEP WITH SOMEBODY ELSE'S WIFE, DRINK TOO MUCH LIQUOR, OR BE SEXUALLY PERVERTED THAN ARE SOLID CONSERVATIVES.)

IV. ABSOLUTE AUTHORITY AT THE TOP AND BLIND LOYALTY AT THE

BOTTOM AIDED BY THE SELECTION PROCESS.

THIS QUESTION OF LOYALTY IS INTERESTING SINCE, OF COURSE, WE ALL LIKE OUR FRIENDS TO BE LOYAL TO US AND WE RESPECT IT AS A QUALITY IN MAN. THE WATERGATE HEARINGS WERE PARTICULARLY INFORMATIVE ON THIS POINT AS YOU WILL RECALL. EACH OF THE WITNESSES WHO WERE IMPLICATED IN WRONGDOING IN WATERGATE OPENED THEIR STATEMENTS WITH A BIT ON LOYALTY AND WENT ON TO TELL EVENTUALLY HOW IN THE NAME OF LOYALTY THEY HAD VIOLATED THE LAW. THE BUREAU HAS ITS PARALLEL IN THIS CONCEPT OF BLIND LOYALTY. PERSONNEL HAVE BEEN WILLING TO FOREGO THEIR OWN INTEGRITY TO ALLOW IMPROPER, UNETHICAL, OR ILLEGAL ACTIVITY BY THE BUREAU TO GO ON UNCHALLENGED RATHER THAN INJURE THE BUREAU BY A PUBLIC ATTACK WHICH MANY REGARD AS DISLOYAL TO THE BUREAU.

#### V. HARSH DISCIPLINARY MEASURES.

THE HARSH DISCIPLINARY MEASURES WHICH WERE THE HALLMARK OF MR. HOOVER'S PERSONNEL POLICY ARE TOO EXTENSIVE TO GO INTO AT LENGTH HERE. THEY SOMETIMES RESULTED IN HUMOROUS SITUATIONS BUT VERY OFTEN IN VERY TRAGIC SITUATIONS. BY THE MID-1960'S THESE HARSH DISCIPLINARY MEASURES HAD SO ERODED CONFIDENCE IN HOOVER AMONG THE AGENT PERSONNEL THAT THE POLICY OF "TELL THE MAN NOTHING" HAD REACHED A POINT WHERE INFORMATION COULD ACTUALLY GET INTO THE HANDS OF BUREAU SUPERVISORS AND IT STILL WOULD NOT GET TO HOOVER BECAUSE THE HARSHNESS OF THE DISCIPLINARY ACTION MADE THE INTEGRITY OF ALL AGENTS VERY PLIABLE.



IN A DEMOCRACY, DOMINATION OF A POWERFUL ORGANIZATION SUCH AS THE FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION BY ANY SEGMENT OF THE POLITICAL SPECTRUM THREATENS THE VERY EXISTENCE OF DEMOCRACY.

THE PROCESS RESULTS IN THE ORGANIZATION BEING USED TO AID THE POLITICAL AND PHILOSOPHICAL FRIENDS OR CAUSES OF THE LEADER AND TO NEUTRALIZE ANY OPPOSITION.

MR. HOOVER'S VENDETTA AGAINST DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING ILLUSTRATES THIS PROCESS IN A GRAPHIC MANNER.

I SUBMIT THAT THE FBI NOW CONSTITUTES A DEGENERATE DICTATORSHIP IN WHICH THE STRUCTURE STILL REMAINS BUT FROM WHICH PUBLIC SUPPORT IS RAPIDLY BEING WITHDRAWN. I FURTHER SUBMIT THAT SUCH A DICTATORSHIP IS INCOMPATIBLE WITH THE CONSTITUTIONAL CONCEPTS UPON WHICH THIS NATIONAL WAS FOUNDED. I FEEL THAT THIS CAN BE HISTORICALLY PARALLELED WITH THE ASCENSION OF OTHER DICTATORSHIPS THROUGHOUT THE WORLD.

I RECOMMEND THAT ANY REFORM WHICH YOU CONSIDER DEAL DIRECTLY WITH EACH OF THE POINTS I MENTIONED IN THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE PROCESS BUT I URGE YOU TO GIVE PARTICULARLY CAREFUL ATTENTION TO THE PROCESS OF AGENT SELECTION.

IN ORDER TO INSURE AGAINST RE-ESTABLISHMENT OF UNCONTROLLABLE POWER WITHIN THE BUREAU I WOULD SUGGEST THE FOLLOWING:

1. SEEK THE REMOVAL OF ALL ENTRENCHED PERSONNEL INCLUDING THE DIRECTOR AS QUICKLY AS IS PRACTICAL. (NOT IN A VINDICTIVE MANNER, BUT FOR THE GOOD OF THE SERVICE.)

2. ESTABLISH A SYSTEM BY WHICH LINE LEVEL PERSONNEL CAN REPORT UNETHICAL OR ILLEGAL ACTIVITY WITHIN THE BUREAU TO AN OUTSIDE CONTROL AGENCY. ALTHOUGH THERE ARE SOME CONSTITUTIONAL QUESTIONS INVOLVED, I WOULD RECOMMEND THAT THE CONTROL AGENCY BE UNDER THE JUDICIARY, THUS EXTENDING THE CONCEPT OF CHECKS AND BALANCES, AND THAT THE TIME NECESSARY FOR SETTING UP HEARINGS AND RESOLVING DIFFICULTIES BE EXTREMELY SHORT, MAYBE AS LITTLE AS SEVEN DAYS SO THAT CORRUPTIVE PROCESSES COULD NOT GET STARTED.
3. THAT ALL PERSONNEL WORKING WITHIN THE AGENCY AND ALL NEW PERSONNEL WORKING WITHIN THE AGENCY BE REQUIRED TO ATTEND INSTRUCTIONAL CLASSES GIVEN BY VARIOUS EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY IN WHICH THE RIGHTS AND DUTIES OF BUREAU EMPLOYEES WOULD BE THOROUGHLY TAUGHT SO THAT WE WOULD NOT HAVE PEOPLE LIKE JIM McCORD IN THE WATERGATE SITUATION TELLING THE SENATE IN YEARS TO COME THAT HE THOUGHT THAT WHAT WAS OBVIOUSLY ILLEGAL COULD BE MADE LEGAL BY THE FLICK OF A PEN BY THE ATTORNEY GENERAL.
4. LEGISLATE THE PROCESS OF AGENT SELECTION IN SUCH A WAY THAT FUTURE PERSONNEL WOULD REPRESENT THE FULL SPECTRUM OF AMERICAN SOCIETY INSTEAD OF ONLY A NARROW SEGMENT AS IT NOW DOES. EITHER REDUCE THE PAY OF AGENT PERSONNEL OR ESTABLISH EDUCATIONAL REQUIREMENTS FOR ADMISSION THAT WOULD JUSTIFY THE CURRENT HIGH-PAY STANDARDS. I WOULD PREFER THAT THE STANDARDS BE MADE HIGHER AND LEAVE THE PAY WHERE IT IS.

5. LEGISLATE CONTROLS REGARDING THE RELEASE OF INFORMATION FROM THE BUREAU WHICH WILL PREVENT THE BUREAU FROM USING THE WEALTH OF INFORMATION IT COLLECTS AT GOVERNMENT EXPENSE AS A MEANS OF PRESS MANIPULATION. (IF QUINN MARTIN PRODUCTIONS CAN EXAMINE BUREAU RECORDS AND PRODUCE A TELEVISION PLAY AS THEY DID IN THE PHILADELPHIA-MISSISSIPPI CASE AND, AS I BELIEVE, DISTORT THE TRUE PICTURE IN AN EFFORT TO PROTECT THE BUREAU IMAGE, THEN I FEEL THESE RECORDS SHOULD BE THROWN OPEN TO ALL OF THE MEDIA TO DO WITH AS THEY CHOOSE IN THE INTEREST OF PROTECTING THE FIRST AMENDMENT.) YOU HAVE HERE A CASE OF INVERSE ABRIDGEMENT OF THE FIRST AMENDMENT RIGHTS. PROHIBIT THE PRACTICE OF ALLOWING THE DIRECTOR TO USE BUREAU FACILITIES TO PONTIFICATE THROUGH THE GUISE OF NEWS RELEASES IN WHICH HE NEVER SUBMITS TO CROSS EXAMINATION BY THE PRESS. IT SEEMS THAT MR. KELLEY HAS MODERATED THIS EVIL TO SOME EXTENT. BUT IF YOU DON'T PROHIBIT THE PRACTICE THROUGH LEGISLATION, HE OR A FUTURE DIRECTOR, ONCE THEY FEEL MORE SECURE WOULD UNDOUBTEDLY FALL BACK ON THIS ODIOS PRACTICE.

THANK YOU MR. CHAIRMAN.

2 - Mr. J. A. Mintz  
 (1 - Mr. J. B. Hotis)  
 1 - Mr. W. R. Wannall  
 1 - Mr. W. O. Cregar  
 1 - Mr. J. T. Aldhizer  
 November 17, 1975

The Attorney General

Director, FBI

REC-41 62-116395-1134

U. S. SENATE SELECT COMMITTEE  
 ON INTELLIGENCE ACTIVITIES (SSC)

Reference is made to SSC letter dated November 7, 1975, containing requests for materials concerning Martin Luther King, Jr.

Enclosed for your approval and forwarding to the SSC is an original of a memorandum in partial response to items requested in SSC letter of November 7, 1975.

Also enclosed for your records is a copy of the memorandum which is being delivered to you with a set of the materials which are being delivered to the SSC. Your attention is invited to the fact that included in the materials to be delivered to the SSC is correspondence originated in the Department of Justice.

Enclosures (2)

62-116395

1 - The Deputy Attorney General  
 Attention: Michael E. Shaheen, Jr.  
 Special Counsel for  
 Intelligence Coordination

JTA:adm  
 (9)

**NOTE:** A copy of the SSC letter 11/7/75, is attached to the file copy of enclosed letterhead memorandum. Exact copies of the materials being furnished are maintained in the office of the SENSTUDY 75 Project. Arrangements have been made for a representative of the Legal Counsel Division to deliver the attached memorandum as well as the materials being provided to the SSC.

- Assoc. Dir. \_\_\_\_\_
- Dep. AD Adm. \_\_\_\_\_
- Dep. AD Inv. \_\_\_\_\_
- Asst. Dir.:
- Admin. \_\_\_\_\_
- Comp. Syst. \_\_\_\_\_
- Ext. Affairs \_\_\_\_\_
- Files & Com. \_\_\_\_\_
- Gen. Inv. \_\_\_\_\_
- Ident. \_\_\_\_\_
- Inspection \_\_\_\_\_
- Intell. \_\_\_\_\_
- Laboratory \_\_\_\_\_
- Plan. & Eval. \_\_\_\_\_
- Spec. Inv. \_\_\_\_\_
- Training \_\_\_\_\_
- Legal Coun. \_\_\_\_\_
- Telephone Rm. \_\_\_\_\_
- Director Sec'y \_\_\_\_\_

ENCLOSURE

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 DATE 10/23/2008 BY SP2 DUM/MLK  
 MDR-16

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62-116395-1134

62-116395-1134

*[Handwritten signatures and initials]*

- 2 - Mr. J. A. Mintz  
(1 - J. B. Hotis)
- 1 - Mr. W. R. Wannall
- 1 - Mr. W. O. Cregar
- 1 - Mr. J. T. Aldhizer

62-116395

November 17, 1975

**U. S. SENATE SELECT COMMITTEE TO  
STUDY GOVERNMENTAL OPERATIONS WITH  
RESPECT TO INTELLIGENCE ACTIVITIES (SSC)**

Reference is made to SSC letter dated November 7, 1975, containing requests for materials concerning Martin Luther King, Jr.

The purpose of this memorandum is to effect delivery to the SSC of information and materials in partial response to requests contained in the SSC letter dated November 7, 1975.

Being delivered with this memorandum are materials relating to Item 2 of the above-mentioned request. Also being delivered is a memorandum for the Attorney General dated April 28, 1966, which contains a notation by former Attorney General Nicholas de B. Katzenbach, dated June 20, 1966. This memorandum is being delivered in response to a verbal request made by SSC Staff Member Michael Epstein at a meeting with representatives of the Intelligence Division of the FBI on November 12, 1975.

In response to Item 3, efforts were negative to locate the memorandum dated November 27, 1964, which is referred to in the first paragraph of the second page of the memorandum from M. A. Jones to Mr. DeLoach dated December 8, 1964, captioned "Martin Luther King, Jr., Possible Appearance Before Baptist World Alliance Congress in June, 1965, Miami Beach, Florida." The search conducted to locate this memorandum included a review of the King file, all related communist influence in racial matters files and abstracts of correspondence of FBI officials who could have logically written such a memorandum at that time.

With respect to Item 4, repeated reviews of the King and related case files have been made by FBI Headquarters personnel in order to be responsive to many varied and voluminous requests by the SSC for information regarding King. Based on

- Assoc. Dir. \_\_\_\_\_
- Dep. AD Adm. \_\_\_\_\_
- Dep. AD Inv. \_\_\_\_\_
- Asst. Dir.: \_\_\_\_\_
- Admin. \_\_\_\_\_
- Comp. Syst. \_\_\_\_\_
- Ext. Affairs \_\_\_\_\_
- Files & Com. \_\_\_\_\_
- Gen. Inv. \_\_\_\_\_
- Ident. \_\_\_\_\_
- Inspection \_\_\_\_\_
- Intell. \_\_\_\_\_
- Laboratory \_\_\_\_\_
- Plan. & Eval. \_\_\_\_\_
- Spec. Inv. \_\_\_\_\_
- Training \_\_\_\_\_
- Legal Coun. \_\_\_\_\_
- Telephone Rm. \_\_\_\_\_
- Director Sec'y \_\_\_\_\_

JTA:adn *adn*  
(8)

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*This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Committee. Its use is limited to official proceedings by your Committee and the content may not be disclosed to unauthorized personnel without the express approval of the FBI*

62-116395

Senate Select Committee on Intelligence Activities

knowledge of personnel handling the reviews of these files, no memorandum or other materials are believed to exist in the above files which indicate proposals, discussions, decisions or accomplishments pertaining to permitting anyone outside the FBI to "listen to sources" pertaining to King.

With respect to the excisions in materials being delivered herewith, where no notation appears as to reason for excision, the excision was made for the reason that the information actually summarizes or quotes from conversations monitored during electronic surveillances of King. In some cases, it can be ascertained precisely what information in FBI files came from electronic surveillances of King; however, there exist areas where documentation of the information is not precise and no accurate determination can be made. Therefore no assurances can be given that portions of the materials being furnished do not contain information developed as a result of electronic surveillances of King.

Materials in response to Item 1 are being processed and will be delivered to the SSC as soon as possible.

FRANK CHURCH, IDAHO, CHAIRMAN  
JOHN G. TOWER, TEXAS, VICE CHAIRMAN

PHILIP A. HART, MICH.  
WALTER F. MURDALE, ILL.  
WALTER E. HULL, IOWA  
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WILLIAM G. MILLER, STAFF DIRECTOR  
FREDERICK A. O. SCHWANZ, JR., CHIEF COUNSEL  
CURTIS H. SMOTHERS, MINORITY COUNSEL

# United States Senate

SELECT COMMITTEE TO  
STUDY GOVERNMENTAL OPERATIONS WITH  
RESPECT TO INTELLIGENCE ACTIVITIES  
(PURSUANT TO S. RES. 21, 94TH CONGRESS)

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510

November 7, 1975

FBI

Michael E. Shaheen, Jr., Esq.  
Office of Deputy Attorney General  
Room 4313  
U.S. Department of Justice  
Washington, D.C. 20530

*Senstudy*

Dear Mike:

Attached is a document request with respect to the King matter.

In view of the fact that public hearings on this case are now scheduled for the week of November 17, I would appreciate receiving the materials identified on the attached list, as well as others still outstanding which pertain to the King case, by Friday, November 7, 1975.

Sincerely,

*John T. Eliff*

John T. Eliff  
Director  
Domestic Intelligence Task Force

REC-7, 62-116395-134

*Let to AG & DA  
Encl - 2  
11/17/75  
JTA:ada*

ST-110

DEC 5 1975

*5. [Signature]*

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4:30 p.m.

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DOCUMENT REQUEST - November 7, 1975

1. All materials contained in the files of William C. Sullivan which pertain to Martin Luther King, Jr., and/or the SCLC, which have not been previously made available to the Committee. (Except for any portions containing transcripts or summaries or tapes of electronic surveillances of King.)
2. All memoranda and any other materials reflecting conversations between Mr. Evans and (a) Attorney General Kennedy and/or (b) Assistant Attorney General Marshall, pertaining to Martin Luther King and/or the Southern Christian Leadership Conference.
3. The memorandum dated 11/27/64 which is referred to in the first paragraph of the second page of the memorandum from M. A. Jones to Mr. DeLoach, dated 12/8/64, captioned "Martin Luther King, Jr., Possible Appearance Before Baptist World Alliance Congress in June, 1965, Miami Beach, Florida." (Serial No. 624)
4. All memoranda and any other materials reflecting proposals, discussions, decisions, or accomplishments pertaining to permitting anyone outside the FBI to "listen to sources" pertaining to Martin Luther King, Jr.

62-116895-1124

ENCLOSURE



5-140 (Rev. 1-21-74) FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20535

Addressee: SENATE SELECT COMMITTEE

LTR  LHM  Memo  Report dated 11/17/75

Caption of Document: U.S. SENATE SELECT COMMITTEE.

11/7/75 request

Originating Office: FBI <sup>1057</sup>

Delivered by: Richard T. Taylor Date: 11/19/75

Received by: Morouse Hoben

Title: clerk

Return this receipt to the Intelligence Division, FBI

62-11-375-1124

ENCLOSURE

TO: Intelligence Community Staff  
 ATTN: Central Index

FROM: **FBI**

SUBJECT: Abstract of Information Provided to Select Committees

1. HOW PROVIDED (check appropriate term. If a document was made available for review but not transmitted, so note.)

2. DATE PROVIDED

DOCUMENT     BRIEFING     INTERVIEW     TESTIMONY     OTHER

**11/17/75**

3. TO WHOM PROVIDED (check appropriate term; add specific names if appropriate)

<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	SSC
<input type="checkbox"/>	HSC

4. IDENTIFICATION (provide descriptive data for documents; give name or identification number of briefer, interviewee, testifier and subject)

**Memorandum and enclosures**

5. IN RESPONSE TO (list date and item number if in response to formal request, otherwise state verbal request of (name), initiative, subpoena, etc.)

**SSC letter 11/7/75**

6. CLASSIFICATION OF INFORMATION (enter U, C, S, TS or Codeword)

**S**

7. KEY WORDS (enter the appropriate key words from the list provided separately; if key words not listed are used underline for emphasis)

**Intelligence collection  
 Information handling**

8. SUMMARY (see reverse side before completing this item)

Materials reflecting conversations between Mr. Evans and Attorney General Kenesey and/or Assistant Attorney General Marshall pertaining to Martin Luther King and/or SCLC. Also delivered was a memorandum for the Attorney General dated 4/28/66 which contains a notation by former Attorney General Katzenbach dated 6/29/66. This memorandum delivered in response to a verbal request by SSC Staff Member Epstein.

**TREAT AS YELLOW**

62-116395  
 FMK: fmk  
 (4)

**ORIGINAL VIA LIAISON TO CENTRAL COMMUNITY INDEX  
 IN CONNECTION WITH SENSTUDY 75**

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 MDR-16

*5-10*

## INSTRUCTIONS

- Type or print clearly in ink.
- Indicate classification of the abstract top and bottom.
- Date the abstract and put on any internal control numbers required.
- "FROM" entry should clearly identify the organization providing the information.
- If additions (as when a copy of document sent to SSC is later sent to HSC) or changes to a previously submitted form are necessary, submit a copy of the original abstract, with the change indicated.

SPECIFIC ITEM NO. 8. SUMMARY - enter brief narrative statement describing substance of information and showing relationship to Intelligence Community matters if appropriate. Any feedback or evidence of investigatory interests should be noted. Commitments made to supply additional information should be noted. Additionally, certain administrative information may be entered here, e.g., restrictions on review of a document, if document was paraphrased, whether interviewee is current or former employee, etc. If actual document or transcript is provided, that fact should be noted and no summary is required. Additional pages may be attached if necessary.

RE - HOUSTUDY 62-116464-

OR

SENSTUDY 62-116395-1134c

NOTE: THIS IS A PERMANENT CHARGE OUT FOR A XEROX COPY/COPIES OF "JUNE" MAIL THAT WAS INCLUDED IN COPIES OF FBI DOCUMENTS FURNISHED TO THE ATTORNEY GENERAL BY MEMO/LETTER DATED 11-17-75 IN RESPONSE TO REQUEST(S) MADE BY EITHER THE U. S. SENATE OR HOUSE SELECT COMMITTEES ON INTELLIGENCE. THE COPY/COPIES OF THE "JUNE" MAIL DATED AS INDICATED BELOW HAS/HAVE BEEN REMOVED FROM THIS ENCLOSURE MATERIAL TO BE FILED IN THE APPROPRIATE HOUSTUDY OR SENSTUDY "JUNE" FILE INDICATED ABOVE, LOCATED IN THE SPECIAL FILE ROOM OF THE RECORDS SECTION.

DATE(S) OF MAIL: 4-28-66REMOVED BY: Wardlaw DATE REMOVED: 9-28-76

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